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# **East Europe Report**

**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

**No. 1879**

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# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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POLISH GREETINGS TO ROMANIAN TRADE UNION CONGRESS

Bucharest MUNCA in Romanian 8 Apr 81 p 11

[Telegram of the National Commission for the Coordination of Branch Trade Unions in Poland sent to the Congress of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania held in Bucharest 6-8 April 1981]

[Text] In the name of the workers and of the National Commission for the Coordination of Branch Trade Unions in The Polish People's Republic, we send you the warmest fraternal greetings, wishing you successes in the work of the Congress.

We are united by the common socialist path of development of our countries, a path which our class trade unions are following under the leadership of the parties of the working class.

You are fully in the process of achieving a multilaterally developed socialist society, a society undisturbed by the phenomena which have taken place in our country.

We sincerely desire that you achieve, by the decisions which you will make the aspirations for a Romanian society connected with the results of this Congress.

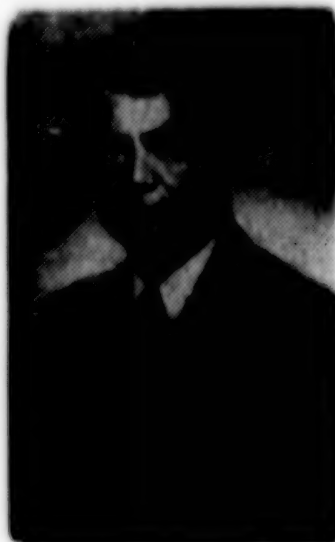
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## BULGARIA

### BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER ADMIRAL DOBREV

Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 13 Mar 81 pp 1, 4

[Admiral Ivan Dobrev, deputy defense minister, talks with a representative of the editorial board about his youth, ideas, present activity, and the immortal continuity between generations.]



[Text] The house of my birth is in the Gagauz (Turkish speaking Christians of the Varna district) village of Kichevo in the Varna district. I was born on 25 March, 1922. That is where my grandfather Stoyan Khandzhiev founded the big family of the Tsvetkovs. However, only our grandmother Zhechka was a Gagauz in our genealogy. My grandfather was an intelligent man who became an active public figure in the village, not only because he had a monastery school education, but also because he was judicious and modest.

I had a difficult boyhood. I was 11 years old when they arrested my brother Stoyan. He was beaten cruelly by the police because he had embraced my father's ideas and opinions. Our house was full of anxiety. It seems that my mother's sorrow and my father's pride were my second baptism. I remember that when we went to bed at

night, my brother Khristo and I used to hug each other and tell each other that we would become communists too. And what about my brother Stoyan? He was then an active member of the Workers' Youth Union and responsible for printing workers, and after that, secretary of the district committee of the Workers' Youth Union and member of the district party committee. After 22 June, 1941, he became a member of the military commission at the party district committee and an organizer and leader of the first armed combat groups in Varna.

At home communist ideas were quite openly discussed. Whenever there were meetings of the party group, my father would send us to watch; my brother, in the yard, close to the door, and I by the barn or the cow shed. Thus, since I was 10 years old I started my activity as a member of the Workers' Youth Union. In 1933 my brother sent me a portrait of Georgi Dimitrov, saying he wished me to be as brave and fearless as he. I showed it to some friends at school. Then we talked about it with some of them and decided that we certainly would be worthy men. However, to achieve this we had to study. And that is why during the summer we worked at odd jobs in people's yards, or looked after sheep. To study in the city, one needed money. I was not admitted to high school immediately because the fees were too high, and that is why I began work as an apprentice turner. The first 5-6 months I was not paid anything.

In 1937 we collected money, and I became a student in the boys' high school in Varna. I still remember the good nature and the selflessness of our primary school teacher Nevyana Krusteva. Even now I can see in my mind's eye Vasil Atanasov, a teacher of Russian and mathematics, communist by conviction, fearless for those years when they did not tolerate communists and members of the Workers' Youth Union in high school.

I became a member of the Workers' Youth Union in 1936. I loved the Russian language very much. I even tried to translate "A Hero of Our Time" and wanted to offer it for publication. It was a courageous, youthful desire. And all this was done simultaneously with intense activity in the Workers' Youth Union. I was a member of the leadership of the Workers' Youth Union and we worked together with Georgi Grigorov, Marin Bangiev, Teonko Nikolov, and Zdravko Bombov. They were all loyal comrades. Some of them perished as partisans. The principal of the high school was a fascist, and he introduced a very strict rule. The Legionaries (members of a fascist youth organization in Bulgaria before 1944) were very strong. We were only 5-6 people with communist convictions. Often they tried to beat us up; they attacked us. But even for us it seemed to be a matter of honor to give somebody a thrashing.

When fascist Germany invaded the Soviet Union and the party took the course of armed struggle against fascism, we, the young members of the Workers' Youth Union, enthusiastically met its call and grabbed our fathers' old revolvers and daggers. We were even more inspired after the successes of Georgi Grigorov's combat group, which set fire to a whole train loaded with gas fuel destined for the East front and carried out many other audacious actions in Varna. We knew that there were no mountains near Varna, but we dreamed about the mountains and eagerly awaited orders from the party. But the transition to organized armed struggle was difficult and complicated because our every activity was threatened by the police and the Gestapo.

In September 1941, after the defeat of Georgi Grigorov's combat group, comrades Georgi Petleashev, Iliya Dimitrov, Atanas Aleksandrov--Gercho, Lambi Teolov, Milka Peeva, Nanko Nedev went underground. I was among them too. These were the first underground revolutionaries and partisans in the district of Varna. In the winter, the first partisan group was created in the area of the forest near Batovo. Many were our partisan hardships, but I remember how in 1943 together with Demir Borachev, political commissar of X operational zone, we had to create a new, separate party region with its center in the village of Kichevo. We were discovered and surprised by the police. With kitchen knife in hand, my brother Khristo jumped on the policeman who was shooting at me from his ambush. Demir Borachev and I managed to get out unharmed. On 24 May, 1944, in the forest near Kipren, we fought a heavy battle against the police, gendarmerie, and a battalion of regular army. Many wonderful comrades and partisan supporters perished. However, we were also hardened by the defeats; we became better organized and more vigilant. In the beginning of September, the main part of the detachment under my leadership attacked the village of Yovkovo; we defeated the gendarmerie platoon, seized two machine-guns and other weapons, and executed the people's hangman second lieutenant Kostov. Our detachment has an interesting history, but I will conclude by saying that on 8 September we came down in front of the police headquarters in Varna and attended an all-town meeting. I met the liberation as a deputy commander of the 10th operational revolutionary zone.

And again I want to say that during these really young years my development as a communist took place mainly because of the call of the social class and under the decisive influence of my parents, brothers and sisters. My brother Stoyan perished as a partisan commander near the town of Karnobat. My sister Zhechka was a partisan sympathiser and supporter, and Kina was a member of a relief organization of the district committee of the party, and prisoner in a concentration camp. My brother Khristo was a political prisoner. My admittance as a party member in 1942 and my work together with Stoyko Peev, Georgi Kostov-Levaka, Lambi Teolov, Demir Borachev, Nikolay Boyadzhiev was a school for my maturing as a party member. My years as a partisan, when I worked with Atanas Aleksandrov-Gercho, Kosta Parashdevov, and many others completed my development. And comrades like Dimitur Ganov and Stoyan Karadzhov inspired my admiration with their wisdom, revolutionary endurance and optimism, and I was infected by their example. I think that then, today, and tomorrow every young man chooses somebody as an example in his life and this helps mould his personality, provided that the choice is not only attractive, but also truthful.

And so, at the age of 22, immediately after 9 September, 1944, with the rank of a major, I was appointed as a commanding officer of the guard battalion in Varna. Later the first partisan course in the military academy was organized. We were there together with Khristo Radonov, Aleksey Aleksiev, Demosten Chochev, Nikola Krivliev, etc. Three months later I registered for the course for senior officers together with Dencho Znepolski, Delcho Simov, Boris Popov, Georgi Momenkov, Ivan Vrachev, Panayot Karakachanov, Kiril Kosev, etc. And again I will return to the teachers. One of them in these courses was Hero of the Bulgarian People's Republic and of the USSR Col. Gen. Zakhari Zakhariev. He had just arrived from the Soviet Union, and most importantly, was so in love with aviation that I too was "hooked." However, I was born and raised by the sea. I love it. And maybe



it will be correct if I say that he who was born to swim will not fly. My organic attachment to and need for the sea, my unfulfilled youthful dreams and ambitions, made me even more aware of the closeness and the smell of the sea. I felt that the native Black Sea, with its fresh, salty air, strong winds and waves, would become my fate.

In 1946, a navigator course for line-officers was organized. At that time Commander Branimir Ormanov, who had recently arrived from the Soviet Union, was appointed at the school. I learned many things from him. But my real service at sea began in 1947 when we received battleships from the USSR, and I was appointed as senior second-commander of the newly arrived mine-layer "Zhelyazkov". There, under the care of the Soviet sailors and instructors and especially of Liet. Capt. Sisoiev (today an admiral, for many years commandant of the Black Sea Navy and commandant of the Naval Academy in Leningrad) my love for and loyalty to service abroad ship was kindled even more. With a group of comrades I was sent to Leningrad to a special course for captains of mine-layer squadrons. After graduation the headquarters offered me a highly responsible position in the navy headquarters. Considering that I was not ready for that, I did not accept. I had to sail as captain of a ship. For me, even now, the best post in the navy is that of ship's captain, or captain of a ship formation. It is a calling. The sea is not for everybody.

My joy knew no limits when I learned that I had been appointed as a captain of the newest squadron mine-layer "Georgi Dimitrov." Especially helpful then was the chief of the headquarters of the Black Sea navy of the USSR Sergi Gorshkov (now commander-in-chief of the USSR Navy). In 1955 I graduated from the naval academy in Leningrad. I have commanded formations, received the great trust of the party and the headquarters, and in 1959 was appointed as a deputy-commandant, and in 1960 as a commandant of the Black Sea Navy. As early as these years, and under the warm care of the party and the personal care of Comrade Todor Zhivkov and the generous help from the Soviet Union, our navy grew as a worthy kind of armed forces, a loyal defender of our sea boundaries. Since 1972 I have been deputy defense minister.

It seems that I got carried away a little bit with my autobiographical data, but this is actually my movement and development as a communist, officer and citizen. I would like to say that I do not see any significant difference between the past years and my ideals and activity now. Now too, we have reasons to live with a constant feeling of anxiety, feeling that we should defend what we have won so that nobody will encroach on it. We take care of that together with the young generation of our fatherland. And if we are talking about patrimony and continuity between generations, then everything which we have built since 1944 is the result of our people and its youth. Every following generation came out even better prepared. I, personally, set a high value on human virtues: loyalty, unreserved devotion, diligence, and the audacity of the young. Our Communist Youth Union is ready to solve big problems. And they can be seen in the draft for the theses of our 12th party congress.

Sometimes we, the adults, are slow to give our trust to our sons and daughters. It seems to me that until recently I viewed my son as a young boy; however, he is

already a captain of a vessel, that goes overseas, has long since learned to lead, has been around the world and has traveled many miles. At the age of 27 he became captain of a ship. Today the young have great possibilities for development, but let us be honest and own that our generation did a lot toward that end. I, as a military man, work with the youth in the service. I have sailed more than 1 mile with brave young sailors. Generally speaking, the military are always young. I can give many examples of selflessness, heroism, loyalty, and manliness of the younger generation. On the sea one can always feel the loyalty toward the party and the fatherland in thousands of navy sailors. And as a delegate at party congresses, I have always reported that the sailors and the captains are ready to defend the blue boundaries of the fatherland.

Every congress of our party is a great step in the life of our people. The present 12th congress will also be noted for the care of the party of the Bulgarian communists for the betterment of the standard of living of the working people, for the movement of our society along the road of developed socialism. This year we will mark the 25th anniversary of the April plenum of the BCP Central Committee. And thoughts well up in me that actually during these years we matured together with our party, became true communists, began to evaluate events as the April course teaches us. That is why everyone should fulfill his duty as a member of the party, as a member of the Communist Youth Union, as a human being, and as a comrade in the name of our socialist fatherland. I do not tolerate hesitancy and vagueness. Boot-licking, double-dealing, careerism and slander disgust me. There cannot be a greater psychological trauma and anxiety than to lose trust in a friend whom you have trusted as your own self.

And that is why I would like to wish the young people in our country loyal and selfless work in the service of the party and people. The revolutionary optimism and youthful audacity were our creed; let them always be the creed of the younger generation. In a Soviet song there is a line which says that the adults will leave to the children not only the planet, but also the star maps and the space ships. Our younger generation should be ready to take over the planet, the star maps, and the space ships... The ships whose course is to socialism.

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## PROFILES OF LOCAL CIVIL DEFENSE LEADERS

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 2, 1981 pp 26-27

[Article: "Awards for Service to Civil Defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic"]

[Text] Engineer Tsoko N. Nekhrizov is director-general and civil defense commander of the Sofia Economic Power Combine. At the same time he is chief of the Centralized District Heating Service of the capital's Civil Defense Staff, chairman of the commission for the control of natural disasters and major industrial accidents in the Ministry of Power Supply, and rayon councilor. Everybody who has an opportunity to observe close at hand how many tasks his working day is filled with wonders how he manages to cope with so many tasks and problems. But Engineer Nekhrizov accepts all this as his immutable duty.

Energetic, high-principled and embodying both leader and human being, Engineer Nekhrizov does not divide tasks into important and unimportant, but works with a high sense of responsibility to solve civil defense problems at the same time as he performs his economic tasks. During the recent earthquakes felt in Sofia, he together with his assistants were the first to report in at the capital's civil defense headquarters. During civil defense instruction, staff training and drills the knowledge that he has acquired at civil defense school and from long years of practice proves itself with full force.

Last year during a civil-defense demonstration staff training exercise before the management personnel of the Ministry of Power Supply he showed an enviable ability to lead, direct, and make demands on the staff and service in order to achieve assigned training goals. His resourcefulness and ability were noted and Minister Nikola Todoriev personally gave a high evaluation of the demonstration and of the command qualities acquired by Comrade Nekhrizov as a responsible leader in the civil defense system.

Engineer Tsoko Nekhrizov seeks ever new ways of more efficiently training the personnel from plant services in subunits of the combine so as to step up their civil defense readiness. For an accident the squads operate just as in a real situation. The civil defense commander has introduced round-the-clock duty and maintains constant contact by radio with the emergency groups. By his order radio training exercises are conducted every week. As a result of this creative quest

and the commander's persistence, the Centralized District Heating Service took second place in the civil-defense socialist competition in the capital and the Sofia Economic Power Combine overfulfilled its production plans and civil defense missions. Simultaneously with the carrying out of reconstruction and modernization, a number of problems connected with increasing the security of the combine's plants were solved. Therefore, the awarding to Engineer Tsoko Nedkov Nekhrizov of the badge of honor "For Service to the Civil Defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic"--Second Class is one more recognition of his personal contribution to increasing the readiness of the civil defense service and formations for operation in a complex situation.



Nekhrizov



Mancheva



Budinov



Dimitrova

Mariya D. Mancheva has for several years been commander of the medical battalion at the Economic Chemical Combine in Yambol. Soon after she was entrusted with this mission she set about rejuvenating the personnel of the battalion with the help of the party and economic leadership of the combine. In the place of the more grown-up and family-involved members of the medical battalion she enrolled young and energetic women. In addition she continuously trained reserves for she well knew that for one reason or another some member of the battalion might have to leave the formation. Lest the readiness of the medical battalion should be disrupted, every year she selects and trains an additional team although this requires additional effort and time.

Mariya Mancheva is a good organizer and uses this aptitude of hers to create order and discipline, systematically prepare instruction and enrich training materials. In addition, she constantly endeavors to improve her methods skill. This enables her, after the physician leader gives his lectures, to conduct practical drills so that battalion members of teams will acquire fixed habits of rendering medical first aid to casualties and victims. Mancheva improves this ability, at the same time displaying steadfastness, resourcefulness and exceptional diligence for creative study and the practical application of progressive experience.

It is precisely this that accounts for the progress of the medical battalion, which for the past two years has ranked first in the inspections of medical battalions in the okrug. In all of these inspections it was found that the women of her medical battalion were superior to the battalion members from other plants precisely because they performed more rapidly and more correctly the manipulations involved in rendering medical aid in every kind of situation.

The commander takes other special pains for the training of the medical battalion. Under her leadership the battalion constantly assists the local agencies of the Bulgarian Red Cross and the enterprise's health service in performing various health care measures, which likewise stimulates its growth.

Because Mariya Mancheva made a very good showing at the inspection of medical battalions from the socialist countries in Kiev (USSR) in 1974, she has been awarded the badge "For Service to the Civil Defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic"—First Class. As activist and outstanding Bulgarian Red Cross worker she has been awarded the "Distinguished Red Cross Worker" badge.

Boris Iv. Budinov assumed the post of chief of staff at Vinprom [Wine Industry] Economic Combine 11 years ago with the realization that civil defense work is a highly patriotic, noble and responsible duty which merits your devoting your strength and dedicating your sentiments. This can be seen in his work and is embodied in the efficiency ratings of his superior commanders.

Vladimir Stoichkov of Vinprom State Economic Trust, for example, characterizes him thus: "Boris Budinov is one of our best chiefs of staff. The documents that he prepares every year are exemplary not only for their accuracy and format, but also for their purposefulness. We know that if a job is assigned to the staff that he heads up, it will be performed precisely and on time." The Blagoevski Rayon staff in the capital appraise Comrade Budinov as an ethical person and high-principled

commander who understands his duties well and knows how to mobilize the people he works with.

Especially characteristic of Boris Budinov's work is his initiative. He was the first in the rayon to organize and conduct a "Civil Defense Evening" and one year later a "Civil Defense Week." This technique by now is employed in the entire capital. On his initiative a training ground was constructed at one of the Vinprom Combine plants that is used for civil defense training by the firms as of other enterprises and institutions as well.

Comrade Budinov's long service record as a metal worker at the Pazardzhik plant, his membership in the RMB (Workers' Youth Union) before 9 or 1944 and in the BCP thereafter, and his election for year after year as a city secretary have given him the ability to mix with people. His easy manner, his honesty in his relationships and his fairness in his ratings have earned for him profound respect and esteem. This was evidenced especially clearly at the ceremony for the conferring of his award which took place before the entire civil defense personnel at the plant. The reading of the citation whereby the civil defense chief of the Bulgarian People's Republic awarded Boris Budinov the badge "For Service to the Civil Defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic"--First Class was greeted with spontaneous thunderous applause. And the personal greetings after the ceremony--the "Congratulations, Uncle Boris!", accompanied by handshakes and hugs--were a sign of something even greater--the sincere love of people which is not easy to win.

Margarita M. Dimitrova is one of the most experienced laboratory workers in the chemistry laboratory of the Maritza Economic Combine in Pazardzhik. For 12 years now, with a good methods approach acquired at the civil defense school where she has twice gone for courses, she has patiently and persistently trained her subordinates to analyze samples rapidly and accurately and to shorten time norms.

When the laboratory personnel were increased, Dimitrova first of all acquainted the newcomers with the theory and skillfully employed the coaching system (two newcomers were assigned to every experienced laboratory worker). Her work with young people led her to the conclusion which she eagerly shared with the representatives of the higher staff, namely that since the girls who came to the laboratories were graduates of chemistry tekhnikums, they should be familiarized there in greater detail with civil defense questions. One can well see how difficult it is for them when they come to the laboratories without having received their basic knowledge about this kind of activity while still in the tekhnikums.

Thanks to the tenacity that Margarita Dimitrova displayed, the civil defense laboratory, actively supported by the chief of the Radiation and Chemical Defense Service --Liliya Murdzhieva, now has its own premises and everything it needs according to the table of equipment. Every year Dimitrova personally checks the serviceability of the chemicals, sees to renewing them and maintains constant readiness. Her stringency and conscientiousness in her work are also evidenced in her conduct of the training process. In training, she uses the everyday tasks that are performed by the industrial laboratory. For the competitions between civil-defense chemistry laboratories they all prepare as for an examination--study the literature, do

practical training exercises, strive for complete interchangeability and have already achieved it.

Thanks to the persistence in civil defense training everybody operates rapidly at a systematic pace; 100-percent class attendance has been attained, and the laboratory has already been the unfailing champion in okrug competitions for three times in a row. The merited distinction—the badge "For Service to the Civil Defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic"—fits somehow quite naturally on Margarita Dimitrova's chest.

On her days off many encounter her on tourist byways, alone or with her husband, visiting memorials to those who have perished for freedom. And in these moments (a sign of her patriotism) she thinks about her civil defense duties—duties founded in her sense of responsibility for keeping safe the beauty spot and the people's day of leisure.

6474

CSO: 2200/72



## PROFILES OF LOCAL CIVIL DEFENSE LEADERS

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTHRANA in Bulgarian No 3, 1981 pp 24-25

[Article: "Awards for Service to Civil Defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic"]

[Text] Malcho Khr. Malchev will never forget the day when for the first time he crossed the threshold of "Trakiya" [Thrace] United Ceramics Plant in the city of Plovdiv. Clutching the order of his appointment in his hand, warm with excitement, he bore in his consciousness the director's forthright and frank words about the backwardness of civil defense work at the plant. Words which could give rise to disillusionment or arouse a desire to combat inertia, misunderstanding and perhaps even irresponsibility.

Without hesitation Malcho Malchev assumed the post of chief of staff of civil defense at the plant with the ambition of giving everything he was capable of in order to get out of the rut of inaction. The first thing he undertook was to overcome the lack of concern and the undervaluation of civil defense functions that existed at the plant. Against these he pitted her personal conviction and confidence in humanity. Perhaps this is why his words had such a powerful effect on the soldiers and succeeded in bringing them out of the passivity they had previously displayed. During this process of becoming mutually acquainted, faith in Malcho Malchev grew more and more. He was no longer a "new man" at the plant, but a respected leader with authority, to whom you could always turn for advice and help.

With no less attention and concentration the chief of staff addressed the problems of manning the formations and services. In this regard it was his aim that every one of his squads should be made up predominantly of people employed in the same production activity. He adhered to this requirement in the selection of chiefs and commanders as well, for when a shift chief is also the formation commander his official authority and acquaintance with the soldiers have a favorable impact on the strengthening of discipline and comradely relations.

Receiving the full support of the plant's party and administrative leadership, Malcho Malchev succeeded, at the cost of much effort, in creating the necessary conditions for the normal flow of civil defense activity. Training materials were constantly enriched, the necessary protective structures were built at the plant, and a civil defense room was equipped and supplied with stores. And now, 17 years after he assumed the post of chief of staff, he has the right to be satisfied with



his labor. These have been years filled with stress, with many sleepless nights in searching for a way out of difficulties, and with a constant concern and love for people; years during which civil defense activity at the "Trakiya" OKZ (obedinen keramichen zavod; United Ceramics Plant) has been brought to the highest level, thanks to Malcho Malchev's persistence and energy. Recognition of this was the conferring on him in 1980 by the Civil Defense Command of the Bulgarian People's Republic of the badge "For Service to the Civil Defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic"--First Class--an award which he accepted as testimony that he has been useful to the people and society and that he has made his modest contribution to the progress of our socialist homeland.



Malchev



Stanchev



Stanev



Dobrev

Stanko P. Stanchev of the Construction and Installation Combine in Yambol is well known to construction men of this region not only as secretary of the party organization in the enterprise, which he has been for many years, but also as chief of staff of the civil defense engineering service in the combine. He has worked here with a sense of responsibility, taking constant pains to man the staff and train the people he has enrolled in it. The chief of staff has invested much energy and understanding in order to build up and maintain the readiness of the scratch mechanized detachment where those who build houses and other structures are trained to perform rescue and emergency repair work. For this purpose Stanchev organized exercises in complex circumstances such as soldiers and commanders may be obliged to operate under in a critical situation.

With his characteristic tenacity the chief of staff directed his attention to the solution of yet another important problem--the establishment of an emergency rescue detachment. The soldiers and commanders of this detachment receive good training and increase their readiness for urgent emergency rescue work in the event of natural disasters and major industrial accidents.

Stanko Stanchev did not forget his other duties either; he regularly visited the cities in the okrug, familiarized himself with the status of the emergency rescue formations there and gave assistance to local leaders in order to strengthen their organization and train them. In addition, he made his contribution to the building of bunkers and shelters and to the strict observance of the requirements of normative documents in this regard. Wherever Stanchev worked, he demonstrated his ability to mix with people in an easy manner--qualities which he acquired during his long years of work as party secretary and civil defense worker. But the main thing about his success in his work is his steadfastness and perseverance, his implacability towards weaknesses and unsolved problems in raising civil-defense readiness.

For all this Stanko Stanchev has been awarded the badge "For Service to the Civil Defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic"--Third Class.

Georgi T. Stanev is civil-defense deputy chief for material and technical supply at the Metal-Cutting Machinery Plant in the city of Sliven. A contemporary of two epochs which have left their mark not only in his white hair but also his life and manner of work, he learned love of country and to work and fight for the good of the people while still in the RMS [Workers' Youth Union], whose ranks he joined in 1941.

For Georgi Stanev there is no primary or secondary job. He cherishes identically his job as deputy director for economic matters and as deputy civil defense chief at the plant.

The history of the plant begins in 1972 when the first 15 lathes were produced in its still unfinished buildings and extends to the present day when production has increased more than 150-fold. Now the metal-cutting machines produced at the plant are well accepted in all the socialist countries as well as in many capitalist countries, among which are those with advanced machine-building such as the FRG Italy etc. The plant's civil defense history is brief, but everybody remembers

the comprehensive plant training exercise conducted in 1978 because it took place under complex and instructive circumstances. The high rating which the obshtina staff leadership gave the training exercise inspired the civil defense workers and they began to work with the result that in the socialist competition results in the autumn the plant ranked second in the okrug. In subsequent years the plant likewise took a place of honor in the competition.

Comrade Staney had a share in these successes, too. As a responsible leader with long party experience, he paid great attention to the manning and to the material and technical supply of the formations. The medical battalion is already completely supplied with the property and equipment due it; the necessary instruments for radiation and chemical reconnaissance have been procured, as have a radio telephone, megaphones and other equipment. Due to the special concern which the deputy civil defense chief has shown for supplying and maintaining protective construction, it is in one of the leading places in the city and okrug.

Good-hearted and sympathetic, urbane and polite, high-principled and objective, Georgi Staney thoroughly ponders and solves the most complex problems. When he has to do a specific job, he assembles the people and assigns concrete tasks according to their capabilities. It is characteristic of his style always to take into account how every manual and office worker has performed the tasks entrusted to him. He does not stint on saying a good word, praising the diligent, or advising young people and those with less practical experience. That is why people respect him. In many instances they turn to him for advice not only on official questions, but also on personal ones.

For his diligence and personal contribution to the good material and technical supply of the formations and for his active participation in civil defense measures Georgi Tenev Staney has been awarded the badge "For Service to the Civil Defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic"--Third Class.

DOBRI KHR. DOBREV was born in the village of Strakhilovo, but has lived for many years now in the neighboring city of Polaki Trumbesh where he is chief of the Department of Architecture and the Planning and Provision of Public Services and Amenities of the Obshtina People's Council. In this responsible post he has proved himself a hard-working and conscientious employee with the right attitude towards defense questions. For 14 years now he has been chief of the emergency rescue service in the city and has made his contribution to keeping its readiness up to standard.

"For me," he says, "my official job in the department that I head and my duties as civil defense chief are both equally important. As an official in the obshtina people's council I am able to influence the observance of standard civil-defense requirements in construction, and as a leader of emergency rescue formations I fulfill in practice my constitutional duty of defending the fatherland."

Dobrev takes great care with the training of chiefs of emergency rescue squads. He requires them regularly to attend and actively to participate in staff training exercises and endeavors to see that exercises are conducted in a complicated situation and have a practical purpose.

The emergency rescue service also regularly participates in comprehensive training exercises directed by the senior staff, has never disgraced itself, and has always been one of the front-runners. Comrade Dobrev points out many champions such as, for example, the technical squad commanded by Ivan Obreshkov, which is able to perform its most complex mission at any hour of the day or night in up-to-standard fashion and in good time.

A prerequisite for good civil-defense results in the city is close cooperation among the individual services. Dobri Dobrev maintains close contacts with the chief of the Medical Service, Stefan Marinov, with the head of the Transport Service, Aleksandur Chakurov etc. This cooperation has been tested in a real situation, too. The great snow that buried the okrug last winter threatened to become a disaster. But the collective efforts of the three services in Poleski Trumbesh, ably supervised by their chiefs, overcame the difficulties in a short while; the threatened people and plants were rescued and life continued at its normal pace.

The difficulties stemming from the dispersal of people over the countryside are not small, but Dobrev is constantly improving ways and methods of maintaining communication with soldiers and commanders, as a result of which the emergency rescue service now holds the championship banner in the okrug.

For the selflessness that he has put into his work Dobri Dobrev in 1979 was awarded the badge "For Service to the Civil Defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic"--Third Class.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS REVIEWED

Honecker-Schaffran Meeting

East Berlin BEGEGNUNG in German Vol 21 No 2, Feb 81 p 1

[Unattributed lead article: "Erich Honecker Received Bishop Gerhard Schaffran-- Conversation About Church-State Relations and International Situation"]

[Text] On 15 January 1981, Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR Council of State, received at his official residence the bishop of Dresden-Meissen, Gerhard Schaffran, in his capacity as chairman of the Berlin Conference of Bishops, who was paying his first visit. In the course of the meeting a frank exchange of opinions took place concerning the relations between the Catholic Church and the State in the GDR, as well as a discussion on the international situation and other questions of interest to both sides. Present at this first visit were the state secretary for church affairs, Klaus Gysi; the secretary of the Council of State, Heinz Eichler; as well as the secretary of the Berlin Conference of Bishops, Prelate Paul Dissemmond; and diocesan councillor Monsignor Gerhard Lange.

The above official announcement received a great deal of attention in the mass media of our Republic. Radio and television broadcast it as a leading news item, and the newspapers as well pushed this news to the front of their 16 January editions, in a big spread accompanied by photographs. Moreover, Aktuelle Kamera of GDR Television telecast the exchange of greetings between Erich Honecker and Bishop Gerhard Schaffran, in which the two interlocutors mutually expressed best wishes for the New Year and Bishop Schaffran expressed thanks for the opportunity of meeting with the chairman of the Council of State.

The public interest in this event relating to church policy indicates that the development of relations between Church and State is accorded a high status in the social and national life of our Republic. In this connection, the Catholic Church in the GDR is receiving an attention appropriate to its importance.

Bishop Schaffran has paid a first visit to the chairman of the Council of State in his capacity as the new chairman of the Bishops' Conference. That is nothing sensational, but it is noteworthy inasmuch as this was the first official meeting

of a chairman of the GDR episcopacy with a head of state of our Republic--thus, it was an event which truly can be called historic and which takes on a special political significance in light of the present international situation.

One can assume from this that both sides had an interest in this meeting--something which seems significant with respect to relations between Church and State: On the one hand, the State is anxious to maintain an uninterrupted development of the trusting atmosphere in its relations to the Church, and on the other hand it is obvious that the Church is endeavoring to respond to trust with loyalty and understanding. And since one can be certain that talks of such importance with respect to church policy as the one on 15 January are concurred in by the Holy See, this reveals also the dimensions of relations between the GDR and the Vatican.

#### Accent on Common Objectives

East Berlin BEGEGNUNG in German Vol 21 No 3, Mar 81 pp 3-5

[Article by Hubertus Guske, chief editor, BEGEGNUNG: "Trust and Understanding--On Developments in Church-State Relations in GDR"]

[Text] The press of the Catholic Church in the GDR published the announcement about the first visit on 15 January 1981, of Bishop Gerhard Schaffran with Erich Honecker, chairman of the Council of State, in the same terror as the daily press had published it. Priests repeatedly examined this event in their Sunday sermons, and in doing so emphasized the unprecedented nature of what had happened. In many parish circles, the visit of the bishop to the head of state has been the subject of animated discussions.

The unprecedented first visit of a chairman of the episcopacy in the GDR to the chairman of the Council of State has made people sit up and take notice. There is satisfaction and pleasure about this event among the Catholics in our Republic. West of our country, certain circles seem to be less pleased. The differing reactions have to do with different ideas about the role of the Church in our socialist State. Whereas the Catholics in the GDR, including their bishops and priests, desire and practice a peaceful, orderly, and accommodation-minded relationship to the State, Western circles would prefer to see the Church in the role of offering political opposition and confrontation to the State. But the time is long past since ideas about the Church as a Trojan Horse in enemy territory were still entertained by individuals in this country. By now, better judgments have prevailed, which however are taken note of only reluctantly by Western fashioners of a policy of confrontation.

The visit on 15 January 1981 of Bishop Gerhard Schaffran as chairman of the Berlin Conference of Bishops to the chairman of the GDR Council of State, Erich Honecker, has its background history. It can be seen in the steady development of a trusting relationship between Church and State which is based on a frank exchange of views and is directed toward the satisfactory settlement of practical problems. On the side of the Church, the former chairman of the Berlin Bishops'



Conference, Alfred Cardinal Bengsch, helped to bring about this development. In his numerous meetings with the chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and with the state secretary for church affairs, he was always guided by a striving to vindicate the trust and understanding shown on the part of the State, and an endeavor to respond to this on his part with trust and understanding also. On this basis it proved possible to find solutions to practical problems which were satisfactory to both sides. In any case, the bishops in the GDR have not steered a course of confrontation to the State under the chairmanship of Cardinal Bengsch, although they expressed reservations in an objective fashion with regard to many governmental measures. Thus, when the distinguished Berlin bishop and chairman of the Bishops' Conference died in December 1979, Council of State Chairman Erich Honecker was able to sincerely write to the Pope in his telegram of condolences: "In Cardinal Bengsch we cherish a man who through his honest and circumspect work has played a large part in the formation of relations between the Catholic Church and the State of the GDR which are based on objectivity and trust." And in a letter to the Berlin Conference of Bishops, the chairman of the Council of State remarked that Cardinal Bengsch had been "always striving for relations with our State which would be marked by objectivity and by mutual trust."

Thus, Alfred Cardinal Bengsch had set standards and had put up signposts. Would they be heeded by his successor in the office of chairman of the Bishops' Conference? The very raising of this question in the manner to be found in Western publications--not to mention certain answers given to this--betrayed hopes for a future conflict or else fears about a possibly deepened cooperation. The authors of such a speculative question and answer game evidently did not want to admit that the path of trustful speaking to one another and listening to each other which was taken together by State and Church has proved to be a very positive one for the ministry of the Church, and therefore has been supported as well by all members of the Berlin Conference of Bishops. Whoever may be elected as the new chairman from this body could scarcely take a course in the backward direction.

So on 17 May 1980 the Bishops' Conference agreed on Bishop Gerhard Schaffran as the new chairman. Although the departure of this office from Berlin to Dresden may have surprised many people, it is not inexplicable. Perhaps over the last 30 years we have grown too accustomed by now to always having the Berlin bishop hold the chairmanship of the GDR episcopacy. But it is an express wish of the Vatican that, generally speaking, this chair not be bound to a certain bishopric, but that it be rotated. Moreover, by then Bishop Schaffran was already the deputy chairman, and the just installed new Berlin bishop, Dr Joachim Meisner, the present vice chairman, probably was not to be overburdened right away.

The new chairman of the Berlin Conference of Bishops was sent a congratulatory letter by the chairman of the Council of State, Erich Honecker, in which he also declared: "I am convinced that the esteemed contribution made by the Catholic Church to international understanding and peace as well as the good progress of relations between State and Catholic Church in the GDR will be expanded and furthered." This formulation was reminiscent of the official announcement about the conversation on 25 February 1980 which Bishop Schaffran, as acting chairman

of the Bishops' Conference after the death of Cardinal Bengsch, had held with State Secretary Klaus Gysi, in which it was said: "Bishop Schaffran explained the ministry of the Church on behalf of reconciliation and peace. He referred to the Catholic Church's own method of coming to grips with the problem of peace--a method which corresponds to its doctrinal and pastoral mission." Thereupon the announcement further stated: "The interlocutors confirmed their intention to continue in the future as well the existing contacts which have contributed to mutual understanding and to satisfactory settlements of practical problems, by way of a frank exchange of opinions."

Such formulations recur again and again in announcements on Church-State talks, and they express both the positive developments in mutual relations and also the concurrence of the Catholic bishops in a basically constructive trend in church policy. Thus, for example, the new Berlin bishop, Dr Joachim Meisner, had stated also--during his first visit with the state secretary for church affairs on 20 May 1980--"that in the future as well he will be laboring on behalf of satisfactory settlements of practical problems by way of an open exchange of opinions and through mutual understanding."

The now effected initial visit of the chairman of the Berlin Conference of Bishops with the chairman of the Council of State--a hitherto unprecedented event in the history of the GDR--undoubtedly represents a high point in the development of relations between the Catholic Church and the State in the GDR. One is scarcely likely to go wrong in supposing that both sides desired this meeting and that the Holy See also endorsed it. With this conversation at the highest level of State and Church in our Republic, surely a sign was meant to be posted everywhere for proceeding along on this time-tested path.

Although the official announcement about the talk at the official residence of the Council of State chairman is kept short, nevertheless it intimates that in at least two respects fundamental questions were discussed. As is stated, a frank exchange of opinions took place "on relations between the Catholic Church and the State in the GDR, as well as a discussion of the international situation and other questions of interest to both sides." Thus, Church-State relations in the GDR as well as the international political situation were main topics of the conversation.

Thereby, in concept both sides have continued on a course with respect to such talks which has manifestly proved its worth: Namely, not merely to talk about limited questions of mutual relations on the various levels and about possible ideologically based frictions, but also to look beyond the church steeple and the town hall and to perceive the all-around joint responsibility for international events, above all for peace among the peoples. In both spheres, noteworthy understandings between Church and State have been achieved in the course of the 30 years that a Bishops' Conference has existed in the GDR, above all in the last two decades. For example, they have tended in the direction of allowing the Church's leeway to perform its ministry to become not narrower, but if anything wider. Catholics in other countries look with outright envy at the intensity of Church life and of pastoral as well as charitable work in our Republic. The secularization process which is on the increase in many Western states, accompanied by the dwindling of faith and of attachment to the Church, is evidently less operative in the GDR--under the "atheistic" conditions

so reviled by the West. But also with respect to the common responsibility for peace shared by Church and State, one can perceive convergences of their standpoints, although the two render their service for peace each with their own methods and just in this area their common responsibility could conceivably be articulated even more clearly. However, at its various levels the Church in the GDR is realizing increasingly more clearly that it is working in a country whose people not only want peace, but also vigorously support the policy of the national leadership, which is directed towards peace, detente, and disarmament as well as towards the realization of a great sociopolitical program-- a policy to which most of the Catholics in our country are making a responsible, esteemed contribution. In this connection, it is becoming ever more clear to Church circles how damaging is the effect on detente and peace arising from the absence of a settlement of the diocesan boundaries in a way which is in line with the national boundaries between the GDR and the FRG; forces in the FRG which are unfriendly to detente are misusing this unresolved problem to bolster their dangerous policy of legal and territorial claims against the GDR.

The meeting of 15 January 1981 at the official residence of the Council of State chairman is a high point in Church-State relations, and at the same time it will serve as a starting point for their further development. Because the constitutional principle of the separation of State and Church certainly does not mean to erect a wall between the two, but by taking under consideration the tasks proper to each, it means to achieve a maximum of understanding and agreement, in the interests of the people whom both Church and State wish to serve.

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## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### SED'S CONCEPT OF SOCIALIST CULTURE ANALYZED

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 13 No 3, Mar 81 signed to press 20 Feb 81 pp 277-285

[Analyses and Reports' feature article by Dr Werner Rossade, Munich: "'Socialist Way of Life' and Broad Conception of Culture in SED Leadership Ideology." A translation of the June 1980 EINHEIT article by Dr Horst Jetschmann of the SED's Institute for Marxist-Leninist Sociology, cited in footnote 22, is published under the heading, "Report on Topics Discussed at Third GDR Sociology Congress," in JPRS 76085, 21 Jul 80, No 1801 of this series, pp 77-81. For references to other items of related information see translation of a February 1981 EINHEIT article by Prof Elisabeth Simons of the SED's Institute for Marxist-Leninist Culture and Art Studies, published under the heading, "Ideological-Moral Criteria for Socialist Art Explained," in JPRS 77866, 17 Apr 81, No 1871 of this series, pp 53-60]

[Text] The ideological concept 'socialist way of life' is being used more and more frequently of late both in the pronouncements of the SED and CPSU leadership and in related sociological publications. Although the term was in use even prior to the Eighth SED Congress in 1971, it has occupied a more and more prominent place ever since, following the Soviet trend as is evidenced in SED documents of the sixties and seventies.

### New Stage of Systemic and Ideological Change

One merely has to look at the two party programs approved during this time span. The first of these was approved by the Sixth SED Congress in January 1963, which also introduced the principles of the "New Economic System of Planning and Direction" (NOESPL). That particular program neither laid any special stress on the 'socialist way of life,' nor did it raise the term to the level of an ideological concept, as was done subsequently. The standard of living was mentioned as were human needs and living conditions; the socialist consciousness and the corresponding "level of education and culture;" the material and cultural conditions of life and the "intellectual temper...of man in socialist society including its characteristically moral dimensions;"



the "molding of man in socialist society and (the) development of a socialist national culture" and finally, the "new, socialist sense of life" and the "new socialist life style" which would give art shape and provide a place for it.

In this instance, the term 'socialist way of life' was not mentioned as an overarching concept but as one among many. As to the qualities of the so-called socialist man, this program postulated that "socialist" work leads to new kinds of interpersonal relationships. (This is a subsidiary trait; socialist man's primary trait is "patriotism and internationalism.") The document ties these relationships not only to a specific attitude toward work but also toward state ("social") property. The new relationships "between human beings both inside and outside the sphere of production, the socialist way of life which is more humane and noble-minded than that of any previous society" taken together constitute "the foundation of the moral-ethical norms" of the GDR.<sup>2</sup> In this case, the term 'socialist way of life' was merely used to elucidate what was meant by the new interpersonal relationships which appeared in strong moral-ethical relief as was customary at that time.

The molding of the 'new man' was still focused on consciousness then. The ideological concept 'socialist way of life' did not yet occupy a central position to be used for creating an integrated totality, a citizen conforming to the system in every conceivable regard.

There was only one area in which this later development was foreshadowed at the 6th party congress. A written report submitted by the central committee contained the following passage: "In the framework of our ideological tasks, the questions of art and literature occupy a very important place. The many-faceted cultural work carefully conducted under the direction of our party exerts a great deal of influence on the formation of socialist consciousness and a new socialist way of life. Without the profound educational impact of art, literature and cultural mass activities, the socialist education of our working class and the development of a new relationship of man toward work and life would be unthinkable."<sup>3</sup> Thus, "art and literature" as well as cultural mass activities were assigned the task of helping to develop a conformist life style in the sense of promoting specific attitudes on the part of the GDR population toward work and life in general. The party program contained a watered-down version of these tenets. The tasks of the artists, for example, included the promotion of the previously mentioned "new socialist sense of life" and the "new socialist life style."<sup>4</sup> There was no mention, however, of a way of life in this context.

The subsequent SED party program, which was approved by the 9th party congress in May 1976 and is still valid, contains a separate section on "the socialist way of life" in addition to and following the section on "science, education and culture" in contrast to the previous program.<sup>5</sup> The heading "formation of a developed socialist society" is broken down as follows: (1) economic policy; (2) social structure; (3) political organization; (4) science, education and culture; (5) way of life; (6) "socialist nation."<sup>6</sup> Foreign policy and "national defense" constitute a separate heading on the same level as social policy and as does the party as the "leading instrument."<sup>7</sup>

With regard to the way of life, the 1976 program states that it is the task of the SED to see to it "that the kind of way of life and the individual attitudes that are typical for a developed socialist society become more and more pronounced in all spheres of life-- at work and at play, in the work collective, in the family and in people's habits. The socialist way of life is grounded in the socialist process of production and as such includes the continuing elevation of the levels of material and intellectual life."<sup>8</sup> In this instance, the 'socialist way of life' is a pivotal concept related to the 'main task' in the economic, socio-political sphere ("the continuing elevation of the levels of material and intellectual life") and oriented toward all aspects of life. But the text implies that "life" is vested only in society the prime representative of which is the state under the conditions of real socialism so-called. As for the individual, he must "behave" (in conformity to the system).

As for the arts which had been mentioned in connection with the 'socialist way of life' earlier on, the 1976 program calls on them to participate in developing the desired way of life without specifically mentioning it by name. "Through its artistic impact, its partisan spirit and its solidarity with the people; through its breadth and variety," the program said, "socialist-realist art should leave its imprint on the life of the people and can be instrumental in shaping socialist convictions, attitudes toward life and relationships as well as a sense of beauty and the ideals of the working class."<sup>9</sup>

There are at least four factors that can help explain why so much emphasis has been placed on the 'socialist way of life' since the early seventies when the transition of so-called real socialism to a new phase of internal development began under the 'leadership of the party' and international power politics supported by military means. In connection with the so-called main task which was defined as an immediate reaction to the social tensions, particularly in Poland and the USSR, which were a threat to the existing system,<sup>10</sup> the emphasis stems from the security political considerations of the leadership and its interest in dampening in-



ternal conflicts, in channeling them, if possible and in turning them into factors that stabilise and strengthen the system. Another connection exists with regard to the return to the 'inherent values' of the existing socio-political system. In Soviet documents, almost no attempt is made to hide the fact that this particular reversal is due to the failure of the CPSU leadership's efforts aimed at economic supremacy in the late sixties and early seventies.<sup>11</sup> Thirdly, it was the underlying aim of 'real socialism' in this particular phase to present itself as an integrated system, as a socio-political order as well as a 'socialist community of nations',<sup>12</sup> to counteract the explosive forces within and to acquire power-political leverage for expansion. And fourth, the idea of ideological-political defense against the 'quality of life' concept that began to be propagated by the West at that time must surely have played a part in it as well.

### 'Socialist Way of Life' and Broad Conception of Culture

There is a close relationship between the broad conception of culture and the term 'socialist way of life' that are now valid in SED ideology. In comparing the definitions applied to either, great similarities can be noted.<sup>13</sup> The many elements and aspects subsumed under the term "culture" make it plain that culture consists of two main components-- way of life and personal characteristics.<sup>14</sup> In this sense, 'way of life' could be considered a partial aspect of 'culture,' the objective aspect as it were its subjective correlative being 'personal characteristics.' But the fact is that these two aspects tend to diverge quite a lot. In the 1976 SED party program,<sup>15</sup> the definition of 'socialist way of life' based on cultural theory<sup>16</sup> (but probably just representing an edited and officially approved version of papers prepared by cultural theorists) would make it appear that there are certain attitudes toward work and life practiced by the GDR population which result in the desired personal characteristics while these in turn have a way of solidifying the original attitudes. The emphasis is on the subjective aspect; the personal characteristics appear to be a more important component of the way of life so that a distinction between the two becomes untenable, at least in the way they are subsumed under the umbrella of culture.

There are many such unclear concepts. Precise terminology, exact definitions and an attempt at clarity are hard to come by; instead there is a good deal of vague and verbose language without much structure. This applies in particular to the cultural-political dictionary cited in this article. But we are not simply referring to faulty definitions; the very presentation is used for political-ideological ends.

Formally, culture is defined in the broadest sense as the essence of the progressive factors of the socialization process under the aspect of human development. Culture "may be defined as all the objective and subjective results of human activity that promote the conditions necessary for continuing development of society and of the individual."<sup>17</sup> Contained in this particular sentence is a more or less apparent distinction between the 'human, individual' element on the one hand and 'society' on the other, if not in fact a preponderance of one over the other. The culture of a society in general is defined as the essence of "historically concrete and socially determined living conditions," of "personal characteristics" and "forms of the way of life" of "individuals acting in history at a given time."<sup>18</sup> In this sense, society is conceived of merely as a conglomerate of individuals. Socialist culture is defined as the "historical process of socialist character development of the working class and the development of the socialist way of life."<sup>19</sup> While the general definition of culture subsumes living conditions, personal characteristics and (forms of) the way of life, the definition of socialist culture is restricted to the latter two factors, as cited above.

Elsewhere, the conditions of life are defined as the "objective conditions of individual human behavior."<sup>20</sup> Again, the individual is dominant in the abstract; at the same time, the behaviorist bent emerges which has been playing an important role in 'real socialist' sociology for some time. (Individual) behavior is referred to time and again. In a comment on the conditions of life, it is said that they are equated in colloquial language with such terms as "standard of living, level of life, life environment or social environment." And they are said to be "elementary conditions of personality development" and as for "human social behavior," it is said to be influenced most profoundly by change in working and living conditions. Thus, living conditions "constitute all the objective social and natural preconditions for the development of productive and creative human behavior in society."<sup>21</sup>

Another publication takes note of variations in life style despite a uniform way of life among 'members of the socialist working class.'<sup>22</sup> The appearance of differentiation in the abstract thus serves to promote the ideological solidification of existing social inequities. In connection with "way of life and morality," reference is made among other things to the "use of arms to safeguard the peace" which is defined as "just" in every instance.<sup>23</sup>

In the definitions of culture cited above, the way of life is included as a component of culture. But GDR cultural theory has also taken the opposite view, culture being defined as a mere aspect of the way of life, particularly of the 'socialist' way of life. Thus, the way of life is used as the most general concept while "ideology, culture and living conditions" are termed

"aspects of the way of life system."<sup>24</sup> Now this and other versions are already oriented toward the pivotal role reserved for the 'socialist way of life.' Socialist culture and its taking root among the masses is said to be an indispensable precondition for the socialist way of life.<sup>25</sup> At the same time, the way of life is defined as a "fundamental cultural process" and the "main area of cultural development."<sup>26</sup> And finally, there is the (socialist) way of life in the sense of an overarching sociological category to be characterized "as a whole" according to the "full range of socialist procedural dialectics"<sup>27</sup> whatever that may be.

Summing up, the following may be said with regard to the currently accepted concept of culture and its relationship to the term 'socialist way of life:'

1. The definitions are cumulatively bunched together without evidence of any analytic-synthetic system. The elucidations are verbose but lacking in content. Unclear terminology, repetition and logical contradictions abound. The 1958 cultural-political dictionary, for example, lists the abovementioned three components --living conditions, personal characteristics and forms of the way of life-- at the beginning of the article on "culture." Not much further on, there are only two components left: contents and forms of the way of life and of personality development. According to this same article, creators of culture are defined as historic personalities and among them "exceptional (!) individuals performing uniquely creative deeds." This is followed shortly by the tenet of historical materialism according to which the masses are the bringers of culture. Furthermore, four factors of equal importance are listed in addition to the two or three basic components of culture: (1) living conditions; (2) results of material and intellectual production both accumulated and handed down; social, intellectual and moral institutions and manifestations including the way of life; (3) the "image of man and the personality ideal" in the sense of an "intellectual reflection and an ideological instrument to guide the socialization and adaptation process" which constitutes the "value system of the society and its cultural perceptions" which include religion, art, morality, the view of the world, justice, political life, social psychology and ideology; (4) the practical, theoretical, moral and esthetic needs and human qualities that were developed in the course of the socialization and adaptation process.<sup>28</sup> Presumably, these different versions are meant to convey the complexity and 'universality' of the definition of culture. But the various aspects listed fail to make up a whole but fall apart instead and in some cases tend to be mutually exclusive.



Another typical example of the scientific standards prevailing is a passage which claims that work creates all the conditions necessary for political and intellectual activity as well as artistic culture. The conditions are then listed and are found to include totally different areas of endeavor such as productive forces, means of communication, materials, time and money.<sup>29</sup> It is also worth mentioning that a mere subsidiary role is assigned to the distinction between material and intellectual culture.<sup>30</sup> And yet, according to the 'basic question of philosophy,' it ought to be of fundamental ideological import, if the materialist position is to be maintained.

2. There is a noticeable tendency toward individualizing and subjectifying culture. The social sphere appears not so much as an overarching concept but as an aspect in addition to the individual sphere.<sup>31</sup> Now and again, the literature pointedly refers to Lenin's thesis according to which any attempt by sociology --and GDR cultural theory claims to be based on the tenets of historical materialism<sup>32</sup>-- to take so-called living individuals as its starting point will lead to subjectivism and will therefore be unable to come to grips with the real persons.<sup>33</sup> But this is of no practical value for the definition of culture. In a political-ideological context, on the other hand, this definition does not constitute an individualistic approach. It is collectivism, designated as such,<sup>34</sup> which plays a dominant role in conformity with the models of the ruling political ideology. A conceptual mediation as between the individual, the collective and society is lacking.

3. There is a special emphasis throughout on the socio-political aspect of guiding and forming. The way of life and the culture of the "working class" are to be developed, consciously guided and planned "as part of a uniform process."<sup>35</sup> The party leadership defines the social, political and ideological content of the way of life and sets about applying it throughout society.<sup>36</sup> Under the definition of culture, the way of life is described as safeguarding "the regularization and standardization of individual activities."<sup>37</sup> The direction and planning of cultural processes is aimed at taking charge of all pertinent activities according to central directives and under central guidance.<sup>38</sup> The broad conception of culture serves this purpose as well and this permits the ideological leadership of the SED to emphasize that it is a tool geared to the needs of party leadership in its present form.<sup>39</sup> The integration of all these manifestations of social life into the guidance system or party leadership apparatus, as expressed by the pivotal position assigned to the ideological concept 'socialist way of life,' was a major reason for turning the definition of culture into this instrument.

## Party Leadership and Broad Conception of Culture

The broad conception of culture, as stated in the second edition of the cultural-political dictionary published by the SED, is a product of the seventies tailored, as the SED itself says, to current policies. But as a term of reference theoretically designed to include the totality of the social process and, at any rate, to broaden the definition of culture beyond intellectual culture (mainly education, science and the arts) it has been a topic of discussion in the GDR since the fifties. There is evidence of this in a paper by E John, published in 1957, on cultural theory and cultural work.<sup>40</sup> It is therefore incorrect to say, as was done in West Germany in some instances, that the "broad" conception of culture did not gain currency in the GDR until the sixties and ultimately prevailed in the seventies.<sup>41</sup> Just how it did prevail is another matter anyway.

It is also incorrect to assume that this broad definition has simply replaced previous definitions in official party language. In the centrally issued 'party documents' the old version still predominates. As before, culture is restricted to intellectual culture and when the definition is broadened, this is done by reeling off a series of concepts; other cultural concepts such as work culture above all are then added to intellectual culture.<sup>42</sup> Similar practices are in evidence in Soviet publications. On the one hand, GDR authors follow the trend set by Soviet sociologists toward the use of a broad-based definition of culture;<sup>43</sup> and on the other hand, the noted cultural theorist Arnoldov, for example, has been employing a definition restricted to intellectual culture.<sup>44</sup> The pronouncements of the party leadership include unclear definitions and restrictive language even in the case of such frequently used concepts as "culture and art," with art, a component of (intellectual) culture, being assigned the same weight as the overarching concept itself. Such formulas in which categories and sub-categories are intermingled are quite typical, as for example in the case of "art and literature," "youth and students," or "young pioneers and pupils."

The unreflected use of different definitions of 'culture' not only applies to the confusion with regard to the broad and narrow definition of culture-- where narrow refers to the restriction to intellectual culture. There also is the day-to-day use of the customary, politically relevant tripartite division into economics, politics and culture, where culture includes both intellectual and material components but not elements such as production conditions or political considerations which are part of the broad definition of culture.<sup>45</sup> Finally, there is an even narrower definition which makes 'culture' a mere adjunct of intellectual culture, preferentially as a subcategory of art alongside of science and education.<sup>46</sup> And that is the way, in fact, in which the institu-



tions of administration and guidance from the government ministries on down are structured.<sup>47</sup> As long ago as 1957, E John had an inkling of the need to differentiate between 'culture' in the broad sense and in the practical, political sense of the tripartite division into economics, politics and culture.<sup>48</sup> In later discussions and formulations no note is taken of this circumstance although the problem is abundantly clear.<sup>49</sup> It is symptomatic that such obvious inconsistencies are not reflected upon.

The fact that the politicians --in this case, the SED party leadership-- do not put too much emphasis on the scientific accuracy of the terms they use is not a feature peculiar to 'real socialism.' But leaving the claim of the GDR politicians aside that theirs is a scientific policy based on known laws of social development, what they are being supplied with by their own sociologists is far from accurate. If one looks at the definition of culture in the cultural-political dictionary, one cannot help concluding that all the vague and bloated quasi-definitions are not being given in order to clarify matters scientifically but to create a conformist social consciousness and a definite intellectual climate. To quote Hegel, the rubbishiness of the terminology<sup>50</sup> is not peculiar to these attempts at cultural theory but is part of the 'modernized' sociology of so-called real socialism generally as well as its specific party ideology with which this sociology is interrelated, based as it is on the directives of the party leadership.

Although it pays little heed to a uniform set of definitions, the party leadership makes good use of the potential inherent in the current broad conception of culture which, after all, was worked out at its behest. Thus, Hager, the chief ideologist and top SED official responsible for cultural affairs has said that the "art of political-cultural guidance activity" consists in "developing the various elements of socialist culture according to plan and connecting them with each other harmonically: socialist work culture; protection and enhancement of the environment; culture in human relations and personal life style; further development of the scientific world view and its propagation among the people; promotion of science and education; cultivation of the humanist cultural heritage and its spread among the working population; development of art and its social effectiveness; development of all creative aptitudes and talents of the people."<sup>51</sup> Now that contains just about everything that such a broad conception of culture can offer to the SED leadership both in the way of a conceptual framework and an ideological justification for its cultural policies. The cultural elements listed also constitute points of reference for the 'socialist way of life' as set down in the 1976 SED party program. The decisive point is that a wide range of human social activity is subsumed as an integrated whole under the guidance of the party leadership.

The emphasis on "work culture" is a reflection of the central position occupied by work and production, competition and top achievement within the context of the "socialist way of life."<sup>52</sup>

Eckhart Gillen has offered a critique of the relevant ideology which is accurate in many respects.<sup>53</sup> No secret is made, for that matter, of the fact that so-called full-cultured working conditions are concerned with increasing "human readiness to achieve"<sup>54</sup> although nothing as yet is said about the potential and the extent to which such conditions have actually been introduced in GDR factories.

Finally, let us mention one more example of how cultural theory can be made to serve the GDR system. It is evident in the sense that the GDR is assigned a special place in cultural history, particularly once the state of 'developed socialism' is reached. This rank is based on the cultural quality peculiar to so-called real socialism, its socio-political order and its ideology. "In the space of a few decades, socialist society has created cultural-historical realities of worldwide importance. They light up the further path for the culture of mankind. They are concerned with issues that have a bearing on the fate of all culture but for which capitalist society is no longer able to offer solutions that will lead to social and cultural-historical progress."<sup>55</sup> According to Hans Koch, the point is that this order will open the way for "all working people to have totally free, fully democratic access to all riches and values of human culture" and that it will serve "in a specific and careful way the interests of different groups of the intelligentsia" and that it will in large measure "set free the intellectually creative potential by means of socialist competition and innovation." 'Real socialism' is said to be synonymous with the progress of productive forces and the sciences; its 'scientific world view' is said to promote new qualities of intellectual culture, and its culture is said to be characterized by the "harmonic relationship between national and international conceits."<sup>56</sup>

This last point contains a global-political, strategic element with which Koch concludes his article: "The joint presentation of our socialist cultures abroad as part of our coordinated foreign propaganda effort as well as our common position and the joint actions of our sister countries to extend 'cultural aid' to socialist-oriented developing countries have all been increasing steadily in importance."<sup>57</sup> Thus, 'culture' serves to expand the present Soviet system, particularly into the Third World. But as far as the alleged cultural quality of 'real socialism' is concerned, it is not at all reinforced by the growing internal criticism of the system which tells another tale-- of political coercion, social and cultural stagnation or regression, of the suppression and mutilation of the human element under the rigors of alienation and ever-increasing hopelessness.

# FOOTNOTES

1. Program of the SED in "Das Programm des Sozialismus" [The Program of Socialism] East Berlin, 1966, pp 298f, 311-13, 322-24.
2. Ibid, p 314f.
3. "Dokumente zur Kunst-, Literatur- und Kulturpolitik der SED" [Documents on SED Policies in Art, Literature and Culture, E Schubbe (ed)] Stuttgart, 1972, p 804, Italics by Author.
4. 1963 Program, Note 1, p 323 - At the 7th SED party congress in April 1963 the 'way of life' definition subsuming various cultural components such as 'socialist morality,' 'structured socialist nation,' 'environmental planning,' 'formation of a socialist personality' was missing as well. Cf excerpts of Ulbricht speech in Dokumente, Note 3, p 1251ff. Occasionally, the later terminology is used more or less in an aside as for example in minister president Stoph's Volkskammer address of 14 July 1967 in which he said: "We must have a socialist culture which corresponds to the high level of our educational establishment and of science and technology in our socialist society. It must become an ever stronger basic element of the new way of life of our socialist human community." (Dokumente, Note 3, p 1290) The main difference to statements of the seventies was that the emphasis here was not placed on 'way of life' but on 'human community,' on 'human image' and 'socialist national culture.' Cf Ibid, pp 1315, 1318, 1326ff, 1344, 1369ff, 1421 etc.

As for the definition of 'way of life' after the 8th SED party congress, cf an article by H Vierus entitled "Development of Cultural Habits of the Working Class as a Process in the Development of a Socialist Way of Life" in Weimarer Beitrage, 7/1972.

5. Program of the SED in "Protokoll der Verhandlungen des IX. Parteitages der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands, 18. bis 22. Mai 1976, Bd. 2" [Proceedings of the 9th SED Party Congress, 18-22 May 1976, Vol 2] East Berlin, 1976, p 248ff, 241ff.
6. Ibid, pp 218-252.
7. Ibid, p 252ff, 257 ff.
8. Ibid, p 248.
9. Ibid, p 247.



10. Cf W. Leonhard "Am Vorabend einer neuen Revolution ? Die Zukunft des Sowjetkommunismus" [On the Eve of a New Revolution ? The Future of Soviet Communism] Munich, 1975, p 183ff.
11. R.I. Kossolapov and others "Die sozialistische Gesellschaft: Wesen, Entwicklung, Perspektiven" [Socialist Society: Its Characteristics, Its Development and Outlook] East Berlin, 1977, p 47ff, p 218ff.

On 'socialist way of life' as an ideological concept of the Moscow party leadership, cf H. Dahm "Ideologische Leitbilder" [Ideological Models] in Reports of Federal Institute for Eastern and International Studies, 65/1977; also H. Dahm "Die sozialistische Lebensweise. Entstehung, Sinn und Zweck eines Leitbilds" [The Socialist Way of Life - The Origins, Meaning and Purpose of a Model Concept] *ibid*, 66/1977.

12. Cf. L. I. Brezhnev Report to 24th Party Congress of CPSU, Moscow, 1971, p 9ff, p 75ff, 98ff; by same author: "A Historic Marker on the Way toward Communism," Moscow, 1977; E. Honecker "Bericht des Zentralkomitees an den IX. Parteitag" [Report by Central Committee to the 9th Party Congress] in Proceedings, Note 5, Vol. 1, East Berlin, 1976, p 34ff, 62ff; Program of SED, *ibid*, Vol 2, p 218ff; O. Reinhold "Friedrich Engels und die politische Oekonomie" [Friedrich Engels and Political Economics] in *Einheit*, 11/1980, p 1129.
13. Cf "Kulturpolitisches Woerterbuch" [Cultural-Political Dictionary] East Berlin, 1978, p 364ff, p 446ff.
14. *Ibid*, p 365.
15. Cf author's article in Edition Deutschland Archiv, 13. Conference on the State of GDR Research in the FRG, 27-30 May 1980 ("The Way of Life in Real Socialism") p 123-124.
16. Cultural-Political Dictionary (Note 13) p 447-449.
17. *Ibid*, p 364.
18. *Ibid*.
19. *Ibid*, p 413.
20. *Ibid*, p 444.

21. Ibid. On behaviorism, the sociological dictionary of the GDR states that it is a school of bourgeois psychology which interprets behavior as a reaction to past and present environmental stimuli. The sociological behavior theory based on this premise serves above all as a theoretical basis "for exerting direct influence on mass behavior." Dictionary of Marxist-Leninist Sociology, G. Assmann and others (ed), Op-laden, 1978, p 91, p 92.
22. "Lebensweise und Moral im Sozialismus" /Way of Life and Morality under Socialism/ published by Institute of Social Science of SED Central Committee, East Berlin, 1974, p 70ff. Cf also Reports on 3d GDR Sociology Congress, March 1980 by H. Jetzschmann in Einheit 6/1980, p 653f and by Radtke/Wittich in Deutsche Zeitschrift fuer Philosophie 8/1980, p 978-80.
23. Way of Life and Morality, Note 22, p 330.
24. D. Struetzel in Weimarer Beitrage 1/1977, p 159ff.
25. H. Hanke at 9th SED Party Congress in Weimarer Beitrage 8/1978, p 5, p 23.
26. Ibid, p 22.
27. G. K. Lehmann in Weimarer Beitrage 5/1978, p 110f; cf also Gleserman in "Lebensweise, Kultur, Persoenlichkeit" /Way of Life, Culture, Personality/ East Berlin, 1975; W. Geldel in Weimarer Beitrage 8/1978, p 65ff.
28. Cultural-Political Dictionary, Note 13, pp 364, 365; p 366ff.
29. Ibid, p 365. Even the Einheit review of the dictionary takes note of some obvious shortcomings (see footnote 39 below). It states that some categories, such as "cultural policy", are presented in such a way as to suggest they only exist in ('real') socialism. (Einheit 1/1980, p 110; cf Cultural-Political Dictionary, p 403). Living conditions are defined in a one-sided manner; the level of culture is not precisely (too narrowly) perceived. (Einheit, passim, 109f).
30. Cf E. John "Probleme der Kultur und der Kulturarbeit" /Problems of Culture and Cultural Work/ East Berlin, 1957, p 43ff; see also Resolution of SED Cultural Conference 1960 in Dokumente, Note 3, p 634.
31. In addition to the sources cited above, see article on "Culture" in Cultural-Political Dictionary, Note 13 passim, particularly pp 364, 365, 366, 367; also see articles on "Cultural Needs" (p 375ff) and "Level of Culture" (p 397ff). Similarly, the central category "general development of persona-



lity" has a traditional, imitatively individualistic ring to it. Cf SED Program in Proceedings 1976, Note 5, Vol 2, p 248-250; also D. Muehlberg in Weimarer Beitrage 1/1976, pp 18, 20, 31; also see Wolfram Schlenker "Das 'kulturelle Erbe' der DDR. Gesellschaftliche Entwicklung und Kulturpolitik 1945-1965" /The 'Cultural Heritage' of the GDR - Social Development and Cultural Policy, 1945-1965/ Stuttgart, 1977, p 145ff, p 170ff.

32. Cf Cultural-Political Dictionary, Note 13, pp 364, 418
33. Kuehne in Weimarer Beitrage, 8/1978, p 33f; cf Lenin, "Works" Vol 1, East Berlin, 1977, p 419f.
34. Cf Muehlberg in Weimarer Beitrage 7/1977, p 161. In the context of the SED leadership ideology, abstract conceptual individualism serves as a support of the leadership line, which is to say the priority orientation toward the party leadership and its apparatus rather than toward the masses, as official ideology stipulates and is always proclaimed. This concept has nothing to do with an emphasis on individuality and the rights of the individual in the face of 'social' strictures as were voiced in conversations with young authors who study at the Leipzig institute for literature (cf Weimarer Beitrage 7/1979, p 5ff and particularly p 17ff).
35. Hans Koch in Einheit 7/1975, p 759ff; 2/1977, p 192ff; Venohr in Weimarer Beitrage 7/1977, p 163ff.
36. Cf Party Program in 1976 Proceedings, Vol 2, p 248; also see Cultural-Political Dictionary, p 447. On functionalization of cultural theory for party political purposes, cf Hanke in Weimarer Beitrage 1/1977, p 145ff; Venohr in Weimarer Beitrage 7/1977, p 163ff.
37. Cultural-Political Dictionary, p 367; also see Muehlberg in Weimarer Beitrage 1/1976, p 12f.
38. E. John "Zur Planung kultureller Prozesse" /On Planning Cultural Processes/ East Berlin, 1978; Marten in Weimarer Beitrage 10/1979, p 5ff.
39. D. Struetzel review of Cultural-Political Dictionary in Einheit 1/1980. The reviewer notes that the hazy theories on human perfectability included in the first edition of the book in 1970 have been dropped and been replaced by references to the stages of development of society "and the conditions to be encountered and altered." Thus, the definition of culture could provide the basis for cultural-political praxis in that it includes an "upper limit" to what can be achieved in a given situation (p 109). It can also be of use in confrontations with ideological opponents. (ibid)

Defense against "excessive" demands (on the part of the 'working class') on existing conditions, which is defined here as an important element contributing to the usefulness of the broad conception of culture, has all but become an article of faith of the current leadership ideology of the SED. (Cf Hanke in Weimarer Beitrage 8/1978, p 8; Deutschland Archiv 11/1979, p 1141; 11/1980, p 1132).

40. E. John "Probleme..." Note 30, p 78ff.
41. Cf E. Gillen in Gassner/Gillen (eds) "Kultur und Kunst in der DDR seit 1970" [Culture and Art in the GDR Since 1970] Lahn-Giessen, 1977, p 22f; E. Nohara in Deutschland Archiv Special Issue 1977, p 45f. The main element in the expansion of the definition of culture is the reference to 'work culture' in GDR ideology. While Nohara views this as a form of cultural progress (op cit p 46ff), Gillen arrives at different conclusions. He aims to show "that the big to-do about 'work culture' and 'socialist work as social creativity' is designed to compensate for and to disguise the continued existence of alienation in the sphere of work" (op cit p 22) and remarks on the dual alienation of society in the GDR (p 29).
42. Cf Report to the 8th SED Party Congress in Proceedings of the 8th SED Party Congress, 15-19 June 1971, East Berlin, 1971, Vol 1, p 94ff; Report to the 9th SED Party Congress, Note 12, p 117ff; SED Program, Note 5, p 246ff.
43. See Muehlberg in Weimarer Beitrage 1/1976, p 29ff; Struetzel in Weimarer Beitrage 1/1977, pp 159, 162; Geidel in Weimarer Beitrage 8/1978, p 57ff.
44. A. I. Arnoldov "Kultur im entwickelten Sozialismus" [Culture Under Developed Socialism] East Berlin, 1975; also "Kulturelle Prozesse im Sozialismus" [Cultural Processes Under Socialism] East Berlin, 1975; also see Neef, Geidel in Weimarer Beitrage 3/1977, p 180; 1/1976, p31f.
45. Cf Report to 9th Party Congress, Note 12, p 62ff, 124ff, p 107ff.
46. Ibid 108ff; 112ff, 117ff; Report to 8th Party Congress, Note 42, pp 89-99.
47. At the ministerial level: ministry for higher and occupational education for science and research (in addition to ministry for science and technology and others whose direction in these matters is more economy-oriented); ministry for popular education for education (in schools); ministry of culture for

the arts, for publishing and 'cultural mass activities;' furthermore, the state secretariat for occupational education, the state secretariat for church affairs, etc. The various departments of the SED central committee, which guide and control the ministries, are similarly organized.

48. E. John, op cit, Note 30, p 85ff.
49. The definition of culture subsumes subjective and objective culture as well as colloquial and technical usage of the concept (Cultural-Political Dictionary, pp 367, 369-370). The intended distinction has an unreflected ring to it, as for example in defining cultural policy as one part of policy as such or in defining 'way of life' (op cit, pp 403, 447; also Muehlberg in Weimarer Beitrage 1/1976, p 27ff; Hanke in Weimarer Beitrage 8/1978, p 23; John "Zur Planung..." Note 38, p 24ff.
50. In connection with a specific type of romanticism or romantic irony, Hegel spoke of "futilities and half-measures involved in wavering and glossing over...this rubbishness" in Hegel, Collected Works, Vol 13, Frankfurt/Main, 1970, p 316. This expression is a particularly apt description for the softening-up of rational terminology and substantive content which could be viewed in an immanent-critical fashion as something of a revisionist "realization" of Lenin's claim that definitions ought not to be rigid and dead but elastic and flexible-- which does not mean vague and imprecise. (Cf Lenin, Collected Works, Vol 38, East Berlin, 1976, pp 217, 239).
51. K. Hager "Fragen der Kulturpolitik der SED" [Questions of SED Cultural Policy] East Berlin, 1972, p 14f.
52. Cf SED Program, Note 5, p 249; also see Edition Deutschland Archiv, Note 15, p 125-128. Also see Staufenbiel in Weimarer Beitrage 5/1976, p 157ff; Struetzel in Weimarer Beitrage 1/1977, p 165ff and 8/1978, p 81ff; Klebert in Weimarer Beitrage 5/1979, p 140ff.
53. Cf footnote 41.
54. Einheit 7/1977, p 789.
55. H. Koch "Ueber den kulturhistorischen Platz der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft" [On the Cultural-Historical Role of the Developed Socialist Society] in Weimarer Beitrage 1/1980, p 11; cf Dietrich/Muehlberg in Weimarer Beitrage 8/1979, p 47ff; Mueller, Dietrich, Muehlberg, op cit, p 134ff, p 141ff, p 146ff; Muehlberg in Weimarer Beitrage 1/1980, p 35ff.
56. H. Koch, op cit pp 11, 14, 15, 16ff, 22ff, 26ff.
57. Ibid, p 32.

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### DEPARTING DISSIDENT WRITER'S WORK APPRAISED

#### Exit Permit to FRG

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 23 Mar 81 p 25

[FAZ report: "Erich Loest--GDR Writer Goes to FRG." A translation of the 'FAZ Feuilleton' article referred to below follows this report.]

[Text] Having been granted an exit permit by the East Berlin authorities, the GDR writer Erich Loest emigrated to the Federal Republic. Loest, who gained a name for himself through his novels "Schattenboxen" [Shadow Boxing] (1973) and "Es geht seinen Gang oder Muehen in unserer Ebene" [Things Are Taking Their Course or Troubles in Our Plain] (1978), was written up in detail in a profile article (see 'FAZ Feuilleton' of 10 February 1981).

#### West German Appraisal

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 10 Feb 81 p 21

['Feuilleton' article by Sabine Brandt: "He Who Writes Despite Everything: All-German Writer Erich Loest"]

[Text] In the second week of January, we were treated to a TV play that was based on a novel by Erich Loest--"Es geht seinen Gang oder Muehen in unserer Ebene" [Things Are Taking Their Course or Troubles in Our Plain]. Judging by the reviews, the play was well received, even though it told a story of everyday life, devoid of sensations--and what is more, it was--according to the program previews--a story of everyday life "in the other Germany."

Does the West German TV consumer take such a great interest in East Germany's everyday life? This consumer is more likely to be interested in his or her own routine affairs. But precisely this inclination was met by the TV play: It showed that in regard to the hopes and disappointments and the degree of civic courage or accommodation, the two countries differ only in regard to local color, not in regard to fundamentals.

The book, which came out 2 years before the TV version, likewise produced the impression that the reader was the author's guest, in his home town of Leipzig--just as one would go from one part of a town to another to see someone for a cozy chat



over coffee: The divisive border and other political, ambience-related elements notwithstanding, there was nothing exotic--neither a sidelong party-line-toeing glance at the censor nor, vice versa, the outcry of a rebel.

And yet, the story of the engineer Wolfgang Muelff, who is dead set against pursuing any career, who wants a little happiness and otherwise to be left alone, is saturated with the specific reality of the GDR. Since we nevertheless take a lively interest in his ups and downs and actually recognize ourselves in this Saxon son of a proletarian family, one can safely say that Erich Loest cannot be categorized in the customary way--West German or East German--that he is an all-German writer. Formerly he would simply have been called a German writer.

### Critical Solidarity

We are touching here upon an old dispute, the dispute over the question whether or not the drifting apart of the two Germanies in the political realm has divided German literature as well; whether or not the disparate forces acting on thought and language are bound to give rise to two literatures that have nothing in common but the basic vocabulary. This dispute began approximately 20 years ago, at the time when the people in the Federal Republic began to take an interest in books from the GDR. At that time, there appeared the first attempts at orientation behind the wall--works written by authors such as Christa Wolf, Erik Neutsch, Erwin Strittmatter, Hermann Kant and others; a literature distinguished by critical solidarity with the GDR state, which on account of its critical component would have been inconceivable in the first 10 years after the establishment of the GDR. To be sure, west of the GDR border it would have been inconceivable as well.

In subsequent years, we learned that at that time there definitely had not set in any process of estrangement. Now as ever, there are two German literatures, that is to say: There are good books and bad ones. The good books that are written in the GDR are bought and read in the FRG. This is not because these books--as peepholes in the Iron Curtain--allow us to glance into something incomprehensible; rather, it is because they depict a part of the world all of us share, because they complement our image of human life in general and of German postwar life in particular by those elements that are removed from our direct experience.

Thus, if we let go of the silly idea that German literature can be created only by authors writing in unison, we are justified--even today--in calling the Leipzig writer Erich Loest a German writer. To call him a GDR writer would be restrictive; in fact, it would be a devaluation.

However, here we are getting dangerously close to the concept of national literature. It is dangerous, because it is a new battlefield. Guenter Gaus, formerly the FRG's Permanent Representative in East Berlin, demarcated this field upon leaving his post: He advises us in dealing with the GDR to forget about the concept of nation and not only to put up with but inwardly to accept the existence of two German states. Under such circumstances, can we speak of an undivided German literature and claim a GDR citizen to represent it?

But Gaus also demanded that we inquire less about the GDR state and more about the individuals living there--about Mr and Mrs Everyman in Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, Thuringia, Saxony and thus also about Erich Loest in Leipzig.

The writers' exodus from the GDR, which has been continuing for more than 4 years, since Biermann's expatriation, testifies to the existence of problems that are not likely to respond to Gaus' prescriptions. The GDR citizens concerned cannot and do not want to sever the umbilical cord, to choke off the common pulse still discernible. They need us just as we need them. There is no doubt that it is our interest in them that makes possible--or at least facilitates--the publication of the books that tell us how the individual people in the GDR live and what motivates them.

Among the GDR's literary ambassadors, Loest is an especially fortuitous case, since he represents both East Germany's special fate and the general German continuity. Combination of these two assets yields the third: Loest's impartiality. While the private citizen may care, the writer Loest certainly does not care about the taboos of the German postwar scene. He says what he has to say. This self-assurance, which is untainted by the melancholy nationalism so common in West Germany, is encountered quite frequently in the GDR. In Loest, it is especially pronounced, largely on account of his personal history: Born in 1926, he belonged to the generation of Hitler Youth members who grew up in the Third Reich and who--not yet full-grown--were drafted into the army. On the basis of this experience, Loest later wrote his first novel, which was published in 1950 under the title: "Jungen, die uebrigblieben" (Boys Left Over). The shock of the collapse of 1945 made the young Saxon join the "most consistent antifascist force" in Germany--which is what the SED called itself. After a journalistic debut with the LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG, Loest embarked on a literary career; he wrote a number of novels and stories, in which his talent vied with his willingness to follow the party line. A good example of this is his novel "Die Westmark faellt weiter" (The West German Mark Depreciating Further), a portrayal of Berlin, the four-sector city.

Loest completed his training at the Leipzig "Johannes R. Becher" Institute of Literature, and then there came the break: The de-Stalinization of 1956, Khrushchev's secret speech, the uprisings in Poznan and Budapest. Loest was among those who demanded that the renewal be extended to socialism in the GDR, and like many others who took that position at that time he was spat out by the orthodox righteous of the ruling party, put on trial and sentenced to 7 years confinement in the Bautzen penitentiary.

Later, in reply to the question how he had managed to endure the long isolation, Loest said that against the tedium of everyday prison life he had pitted his imagination, that he had sketched entire books and memorized them page by page, since aside from the monthly letter to his family he was not allowed to write anything. The day after his release, at 5 o'clock a.m., Loest sat at his desk and began to write down the material memorized. In order to improve this family's desolate circumstances, he first wrote mystery novels under the pen-name Hans Walldorf. Apparently, the writer Loest has not yet been allowed to come into existence again. The GDR Writers' Dictionary listed him only in 1968, naturally omitting any reference to the 7 years of confinement in Bautzen and the reasons for it.

The GDR teaches its citizens that they live in the better German state, namely in the state in which fascism was eliminated from social life. The young Loest may have believed that, but the mature Loest says: "We should keep asking ourselves: Have any inhuman elements of that period been passed on to us? Where are they,

where can they be found?" Loest made this statement in connection with his novel "Es geht seinen Gang" [Things Are Taking Their Course], in which he tracks down such elements: In the GDR careerist, for example, who wants to make his little son a competitive swimmer and who brutally forces the timid child into the water. Similarly, in the GDR portraits that were published in the story volume entitled "Pistole mit sechzehn" [Pistol at the Age of Sixteen], Loest searches for fascist modes of conduct.

The two aforementioned titles were the first books of the immense output since Bautzen (20 titles in 15 years) to be published in the West as well. They demonstrate that Loest does not need the collective easement of conscience in regard to Germany's past. In the school of personal suffering, he learned to think and act responsibly--as a sovereign, mature individual. The imprisonment has made him free, enabling him independently to judge both the present and the past, to acknowledge guilt without zealous remorse or shrill language.

#### Unwelcome Author

The quiet self-assurance of the German Erich Loest is one of the key reasons, why the books of the writer Loest give us reading pleasure. There are other reasons: Felicitous dramaturgy and supple language. Loest's latest book, the Karl-May-novel "Swallow, mein wackerer Mustang" [Swallow, My Brave Mustang], was published last fall. Karl May shares with his belated biographer the home province and the profession. His adventure stories were devoured by Loest's generation. But what is more important: Like Loest in Bautzen, May was imprisoned in Waldheim; he, too, was confined for 7 years and he, too, tried to transcend the prison cell through his imagination. In portraying the professional colleague of the past century, Loest articulated his own experience in the penitentiary so as to free himself from it. In the GDR, the novel was a great success, even though--or because?--the hero's own books are unknown there. The creator of Winnetou and Old Shatterhand is considered an undesirable author.

Erich Loest, too, is now--once again--undesirable. Six-digit advance orders notwithstanding, new editions of his books have been suppressed; the author was shunted from a prestigious publishing house to a smaller one. The cultural functionaries have been lashing out at the critical calm Loest exercises in depicting the GDR reality. They are suspicious of him, since he was one of the eight protesters who in mid-May 1979 wrote a letter to Honecker, complaining about the increased restrictions in the realm of cultural policy. In June 1979, the East Berlin bezirk [GDR administrative unit] organization of the GDR Writers' Association expelled seven of the signatories, and in January 1980 the eighth, Loest, left the Association of his own accord, thus anticipating his expulsion in Leipzig.

Thus, according to the strict GDR regulations, Loest--who on 24 February will be 55 years old--is no longer a writer, for along with his Writers' Association membership he lost his professional license. But he keeps writing.

8760

C90: 2300



WEST GERMAN BOOK ON GDR HISTORIOGRAPHY REVIEWED

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 13 No 3, Mar 81 signed to press 20 Feb 81 pp 298-300

["Historiography in the GDR"--Review by Dr Werner Mueller, assistant professor of political science and contemporary history, Mannheim University, of book "Geschichtswissenschaft und Politik in der DDR. Das Problem der Periodisierung" (History Studies and Politics in the GDR. The Problem of Periodization), by Christina von Buxhoeveden; published by Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, Cologne, 1980, 303 pages, DM 30.00. For references to other items of related information see translation of the Dec 80 EINHEIT article by Prof Ernst Diehl of the GDR Council of History Studies, published under the heading, "New Goals Set for Marxist-Leninist Historiography," in JPRS 77514, 5 Mar 81, No 1854 of this series, pp 68-76]

[Text] This book follows upon a dissertation published by Hans Lades (Erlangen) and deals with a field hitherto almost disregarded by GDR research. It thus explores more or less virgin territory. To begin with I would like to emphasize the value of this publication but, at the same time, consider some critical remarks indispensable. The title alone outstrips the actual text. The author's original dissertation was submitted with the title "Periodisierung als Problem fuer Politik und Geschichtswissenschaft in der DDR" /History Periodization as a Problem for Politics and the Study of History in the GDR/ and far more precisely defined the scope of the study.

In fact the study deals with three groups of issues: The first section describes the "basic assumptions of Marxist-Leninist periodization, central ideological propositions, categories and periodization criteria" (p 14). The second section is more or less a case history and deals with the first stage of GDR history as such, the stage of the "antifascist-democratic transformation" which was to be structured "in the shape of a target-result confrontation" (p 15). The last section reports the discussions of GDR historians about that period, including the respective topical political assignments issued by the SED leadership or by way of resolutions adopted by the respective party congresses.

This reviewer thinks that the author has clearly presented the methodological and theoretical-ideological bases of the periodization problem. She starts with Marx' remarks on the eras and stages of world history, inquires into Lenin's theory of formation and the problems arising therefrom for the determination of social formations in Marxist-Leninist historiography. She refers especially to the works by Wolfgang Kuettler and Ernst Engelberg. The problems involved in the definition of



the terms "revolution" or "class conflict" as well as the discussion about a possible independent role of the stage of "socialism" in GDR politics and historiography demonstrate how political necessities may result in a reinterpretation of the "classic" texts.

Compared with the first section, the second section of the study is definitely inferior. In fact Christina von Buxhoeveden does not investigate the development of the entire stage of "antifascist democracy" but only the starting year (1945) and the (not precisely defined) end of this stage, which she places in 1952. However, only older studies in both the West and the GDR accept this data; all later inquiries put the decisive turning point as the date of the GDR's establishment. Not only does the author neglect to justify her procedure, in the course of her study she later also arrives at an actual *caesura* for 1948/1949. Of course even this rather rough definition requires further precision.

Actually she merely contrasts the situation of 1945 in the Soviet Zone of Occupation with the real communist hegemony in the 1952 GDR ruling system. She notes a "relative openness" in 1945 (p 70). The author rightly warns against "extrapolating the beginnings from the results of developments." That is a problem necessarily arising for GDR politics and historiography as a result of their very own premises.

Yet more than the structure of this section must be queried. Of course it is hardly possible to produce independent and detailed historico-empirical work within the scope of such a study. However, when the possible coincidence or dissonance of claim and reality is to be described, the comprehensive utilization of the available Western and Eastern bibliography must be considered a precondition. Here some notable gaps are evident. For KPD and SED politics in 1945-1946 the Staritz opus "Sozialismus in Einem Halben Lande" /Socialism in Half a Country/ (1976) should certainly be consulted. Though mentioned in the bibliography it has obviously not been used for this section. Not even registered is Frank Moraw's "Die Parole der 'Einheit' und die Sozialdemokratie" /The Slogan of 'Unity' and Social Democracy/ (Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1973), a book which is unfortunately far too little referred to by researchers generally. Even Krippendorff's early study on the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany is missing. Consequently the author cites Peter Hermes and claims as a fact the assertion seriously disputed by Krippendorff that the 1945 issue of licenses to bourgeois parties in Berlin had been "made dependent" on collaboration in the Bloc (110). Similarly incomplete is the bibliography on the Cold War and the division of the world into two camps; recent American literature, for example, is not dealt with at all (pp 140 ff). The list could be further lengthened. Unmistakable is the inclination of the author primarily to consult contemporary materials such as speeches and writings as well as semi-official SED publications, in addition to older secondary literature. Consequently she is able to only a very limited extent to make good on her claims for this chapter.

The last section of the study looks at GDR internal discussions by historians regarding the periodization problems of the stage of the "anti-fascist democratic order." To begin with the author records the political assignments handed research historians by the party leadership. She analyzes the resolutions adopted by the Fifth through Eighth SED Congresses and their "framework of orientation" for historiography. She is very lucid in her presentation of the various political implications for the appraisal of the post-1945 transformation: The propagation of the diagram (derived

from Lenin) regarding the "two stages" of the revolution (after the Fifth SED Congress), the notion of the peaceful "absorption" of the antifascist into the socialist transformation (after the Sixth SED Congress), of two basically socialist revolutions (after the Seventh SED Congress) and, lastly, a uniform revolutionary process (after the Eighth SED Congress), which is increasingly interpreted also as in step with the evolution of socialist countries and societies in Eastern Europe.

This section largely refers to the discussion in the relevant periodicals. From the methodological standpoint it would have been appropriate also to include the major "semi-official" historical works and contrast them with the periodicals. Unfortunately, however, both the "Geschichte der Deutschen Arbeiterbewegung" /History of the German Workers Movement/ (1966) and the "Geschichte der SED, Abriss" /SED History. An Outline/ (1978) are mentioned in passing only. The same applies to the early comprehensive writings from the Honecker era such as "Klassenkampf--Tradition--Sozialismus" /Class Conflict--Tradition--Socialism/ (1974) and "DDR. Werden und Wachsen" /GDR, Emerging and Growing/ (1974). Here also it is a fundamental weakness that the literature of recent years is used only cursorily, while no attempt is made to justify this procedure. The impression arises that more recent publications have at a later point been inserted in a study complete some time earlier. This assumption is strengthened by the use made of the "SED History. An Outline." This book, and the same applies mutati mutandi for the others mentioned, is quoted infrequently, mainly to provide backing for some facts. However, the profound significance of this literature for historiography in the GDR in general as well as its periodization problems can hardly be overestimated. They would be most suitable for tracing the political influence on periodization criteria much more conclusively than the author is able to do generally, although she arrives at similar conclusions.

To be approved is her judgment that "in the process of the description of the discussion among historians," it was possible "clearly to show the development of historiography into independent methodological-theoretical study and research" (p 226), and that "despite the restricted scope there is no completely monolithic writing of history in the GDR" (ibid). At the same time this reviewer is of the opinion that she succeeds in demonstrating that "Marxist-Leninist doctrine which appears to impose a clear system of criteria, certainly does little to make history approachable" (p 228).

Finally it must be said that the text is not free of mistakes. Incidentally, Hermann Weber would certainly look in vain for the title "Der Weg Unserer Partei" /Our Party's Way/ (257) in the list of his publications.

11698

CSO: 2300/205

## RESULTS OF PARTY CADRE POLICY DISCUSSIONS NOTED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 2, 1981 pp 20, 21

[Article by Wlodzimierz Wodecki: "Cadre Policy--Proposals"]

[Text] Discussions in our party have concerned the subject of cadre policy for many years. Sometimes they have been more lively, sometimes less so. However, they usually become more urgent in periods of social and political crisis. After all, it is only understandable, since cadre policy affects the growth of the crisis situation to a large extent, in the sense of the old maxim: cadres decide everything! Theoretical reflections concerning the subject of cadre policy have always been quite fruitful. However, the problem is that the outcome should be applied in practice, so that it could benefit both society and the party.

I also think that the discussion concerning cadre policy has never been so hot as it is today, it has never reached down to the very roots of the essence of cadre policy.

The results of the work of one of the teams of the Voivodship Precongress Commission, operating under the PZPR KW [Regional Committee] in Gdansk, can serve as an example of the masses' active participation in the discussion of cadre policy. The team concentrated exclusively on the problem briefly described as "The Principles of Cadre Policy." The comrades from the commission recognized that this problem requires detailed discussion in a specialized group of people, and it is worth the time and exerted capacities of a large group of activists, who would deal only with this problem, since, as the final document of the team says: "To draw far-reaching conclusions from the inappropriately implemented cadre policy, to immediately establish the principles of the policy and of its application in practice, are indispensable elements in the renewal and cure of the economic, social and political life of the country."

It is an extensive document illuminating many aspects of the past. It also presents conclusions which the comrades of the team reached, conclusions which would change the principles of cadre policy in such a way that cadre policy would cease to be a hindrance in the path of the renewal of the party, and which would reinforce society's high respect for the party in the future. At present, it is not possible to discuss the document in all details, however, it can be said that it contains very interesting thoughts and can make a contribution in the establishment of the principles by the Congress Commission, which then will be accepted by the whole party.



Errors in cadre policy--says the introductory part--begin at the very moment of deviation from the principles of democracy in election and the application of the system of recommendation from higher authorities instead. Thus, responsibility is carried out with respect to superiors, but not toward the voters.

It is necessary to emphasize that the comrades from Gdansk in their study separated cadre policy within the party from cadre policy in administration and even further, in the national economy. They think, and not without reason, that "until a perfect management system with defined tasks, authority and responsibilities is created for the leading cadres in economy, the authority and responsibility for the decisions made are vague both in the state administration and in the party, which is further enhanced by the concentration of the leading positions in the hands of a few people in the party as well as in the state administration, accumulating legislative and executive authority."

Our party statute contains a formulation saying "all leading officials of the party, from the lowest to the highest rank, are elected in a democratic manner," and, also: "the Central Committee has the right to remove specific members who do not meet their obligations." Although correct, these formulations seem to the members of the team to be too general, allowing an excessively optional interpretation in the area of the cadre policy. Indeed, the authors of the study express the opinion that the statute must contain particular detailed provisions for the principles of cadre policy, however, they adopted the view that the principles of the policy must follow from the PZPR Statute, which must define fundamental principles, obligatory as well as facultative, for both elected and appointed leading cadres.

Cadre policy concerning cadres of elected officials is defined by the principles of elections, which must be secret, and the number of candidates must not be restricted. The candidates must be registered only "from the audience" and "only individually by delegates." I will omit here all the interesting and extensive observations. They contain detailed critical analysis of the system of selection and accreditation of cadres from so-called "nomenklatura" used up to now, as well as in the operation of the party apparatus at all levels. We shall concentrate the readers' attention on the proposals presented by the Gdansk comrades. The sense of these proposals is expressed in the formulation saying: "The rational management with cadres must be based on mechanisms and systems which will guarantee its implementation. They must be unambiguously understandable by all members of the PZPR and must follow from normative documents, that is, from the PZPR Statute and the instructions on election."

These mechanisms should be based on the principles that the candidate elected to a position of authority should possess a mandate of the delegate of his own POP (local party organization). This in particular must be--according to the opinion of the authors of the document--an essential principle of democratic administration of elections. The removal of representatives from positions of authority of all levels must follow the suggestion of the POP (local party organization), where the representative belongs (therefore, a cadre of the party authorities must be assigned to POP), at the suggestion of the commission of the party inspection, or at the suggestion of one-third of the cadres of a given level, which must be reported to the conference.



It is also necessary to introduce complete prohibition of joining two or more positions and offices in single hands, and also of the "carousel of positions," which, according to the team, results in "pseudouniversalism of certain people, harmful to both the country and the party." The criteria for the election of the cadres proposed by the Gdansk team are also strict. They claim, among other things, that "working in the party apparatus cannot be a goal by itself and it cannot serve as a starting point for attaining a top position (...) comrades with highest moral and political values, those with long experience in the party, or those who have professional experience in lower level positions, must be selected for leading positions."

The postulate concerning appointed party cadres is also worth quoting. In general, the effectiveness of party activities, indispensable for actual implementation of the stipulated objectives of the party, requires prudence and concrete regulations for the selection of appointed party cadres. Such a candidate must have certain personal and professional features which the authors of the document describe. Here I cannot refrain from a sarcastic thought: Should these required criteria be applied consistently, the appointed party cadres would have to consist of ... angels. What is surprising however, given the tremendous professional demands, the authors emphasize that "higher education of the candidate should not be fetishized--it cannot be the only criterion for work in the party apparatus."

It is also worth quoting another postulate, demanding that the obligations and authority of party officials at all levels should be clearly defined. Limiting the term of office of party officials, regardless of the level, to two terms not longer than 3 years is proposed. "After the limited time has passed, the member of the party authority will be obliged to resume his professional work according to his qualifications."

A special chapter of the document determines the principles of cadres policy in the national economy. Here too, the analytical criticism of the past is followed by establishing principles which should be generally obligatory. Among these principles, one proposition is most notable: "It demands that leading positions be occupied only and exclusively by persons who have worked before, in compliance with the described and strict criteria, in a position one degree lower than the position for which they now qualify. It is also suggested that leading positions also be occupied by appointment, however, only with respect to lower levels of official positions, however, in the case of high-level positions, competition should be applied."

Mechanisms which would guarantee the application of such criteria for the selection of administrative and economic cadres must be incorporated in the Labor Code.

In the document produced by the Gdansk team, much consideration is also given to the question of the preparation of reserve cadres. Here too, the comrades demand clearly defined criteria for the selection of reserve cadres, the manner of preparation of these cadres for the positions they will occupy, etc.

The reflections considering measures which would guarantee that leading cadres participated in regular common life are also interesting. In general, it is demanded that persons occupying top-level positions not enjoy any privileges and additional benefits. Equal to other people, they only will benefit from what commerce, services, medical care, etc., provide.

The description of the role and tasks of the party in the formation of cadre policy in self-governing, trade union, and representative organizations, similar to the foregoing proposals, concludes this interesting document.

Now once again I wish to express the opinion, represented also by the comrades from the Voivodship Precongress Commission in Gdan.k: their formulation, conclusions, and proposals prepared from hundreds of basic resolutions of the party organizations of Gdansk Voivodship must become a contribution to the conclusions formulated by the Congress Commission.

9814

CSO: 2600/176

## ADHERENTS OF PARTY REFORM FROM BOTTOM TO TOP SPEAK OUT

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 45, 8 Nov 80 p 3

[Article by Witold Pawlowski: "Verification"]

[Text] "This party is different from the one before August," I was told by Czeslaw Kaczorowski, who has 25 years of party seniority, in his office of the first secretary of the APATOR plant committee. The office has a typical setting: a picture of the leader of the revolution, a statue of a miner made in coal, and a small library with the congress materials and a pile of "Notes of A Lecturer" brochures.

It is different -- confirmed all my interlocutors, people from the Torun Party organization. What is it like? Here the opinions differed. I have found different moods and states of mind -- from lack of faith and doubt, through bitter optimism to joyful self-satisfaction (because, you see, the main office was no good, it stifled us). I have found uneven progress in verification in party life, party people, and their attitudes. It goes on laboriously and slowly. As if against the mood of the times -- impatient and demanding radical and fast actions.

## Avalanche

"In August, people put us, party members, in one line," says one of the plant secretaries. "Nobody would look at a person, what he was like, what he thought or did before. They decided they were all guilty. How much of undeserved irony, mockery, insult there was."

"The atmosphere on the floor was awful," says Aleksandra Wrzcionkowska, a plant secretary for the last 2 weeks in the MERINOTEX spinning mill. "They would spit at us, throw screws."

Two women have recently been leaving the MERINOTEX party organization. The plant roads have names and the committee is located in Sloneczna, full of potted plants. The new first secretary, Czeslawa Szczepanska, machine setter, was before, for a couple of months, secretary of the plant committee.

"An avalanche came down, passed, and now it is quiet. We are left to ourselves. Each of us has to think it over, deliberate in one's conscience."

An internal settlement of account with one's faith and experience gave different results.

It brought the responses yes and no.

Those who returned membership cards -- in the voivodship over 500 were returned -- are divided in ELANA into those who are missed and those about whom they say that it is good they left. The latter wrote in applications that they had just finished the party school for best workers and they were not interested in further membership or that instead of a small Fiat they got a coupon for a Syrena so this was party dirty pool, they lost confidence.

"If you assumed a plan to increase the members and there was a goal: for the Eighth congress, 3 millions, it was clear that more and more were coming by chance or to profit."

In MERINOTEX they were returning the cards to the drawer, for safekeeping. "When you clean up the party," they said, "we will come back."

"Well, no, comrades," secretary Szozeponska replied, "we will clean up the party but there will be no room for you."

In TOWIMOR they returned the card for a month. They would stay in the party without a card or remove the photo.

"I had only few conversations so bitter in my life," says Secretary Kaczorowski from APATOR. "One comrade with PZPR seniority came with his card."

"Look, man, be angry with the people, not with the party."

"What assurances do I have? After December they were convincing me in the same way."

"Now, there will be no cult, no circus."

He gave it back.

Shock

This internal party settlement of account of each individual had not been finished yet when the shock of new trade unions came. That what they say in the party committees: the shock.

Regrets came that spontaneous, grass roots cleaning up of the republic is taking place outside the basic party echelons, that the new organizations gain such massive support, that so many transferred to them the capital of hope, up to now placed with the party.

"They had such a great start," says the secretary from MERINOTEX.

Regrets came about the climate in the new unions, the climate of enthusiasm and creativity, of jumping over obstacles, of purity not blemished by the excuse that the objective difficulties make it impossible.

Regrets that the party kept its ears closed to what the grass roots were saying.



"The postulates did not fall from the ceiling," says Secretary Kaczorowski. "We have been going through them at party meetings for years. Through some of them for 15 years.

"They were left without response.

"We were taught to explain to people that the postulates were unrealistic, that we could not afford them, that it was still too early. We believed in what was being passed from the top.

"When a comrade would come who had worked 30 or so years in People's Poland and ask for a few grozy raise, to count toward his retirement, I would spread my hands: 'you know, we have no possibilities.'

"And now it turns out that it is possible to give raises to everybody."

Secretary Kaczorowski is of an opinion, and he is not alone, that the seacoast agreement should be that the party will take the responsibility for fulfilling a part of the postulates and this will restore and strengthen the authority of the masses. You see, that is what the party gave you, they could convince people--as they did quite often up to now.

"But the party does not have any ace up its sleeve," he says. "Sure, the troubles are coming, stores will be more and more empty. Now, when something is available, people say: 'the unions provided it,' and when there is nothing on the shelves, they say: 'that's the party's fault.'"

Kaczorowski is waiting then for the move from the top of the party, of a psychological character, to win the understanding of the masses.

The plant echelons are burdened with one more burden that is hard to get rid of: the attitude during strikes. "At one time, we were offered an interpretation that these are antisocial forces," says one of the secretaries who was relieved of his position in September. "Then, there was an interpretation that it was a justifiable revolt of the working class.

"Plant secretaries who worked against the strikes, who got into conflict with their crews, got burned. They lost in accelerated elections, and had to go.

"That's my reward for loyalty," says one former secretary.

"Too bad we lost these devoted comrades," adds Czeslaw Kaczorowski. "We got completely lost then. We did not know what it was all about at the seacoast, what their postulates were. TOWIMOR next door was striking and we did not know what was going on there."

TOWIMOR, which produces ship equipment, stopped in August for 12 days -- it went on strike as the first and, for a long time, only factory in town. They had no idea about the shipyard's postulates but they supported them. They added their own, among others, one characteristic postulate that people from here, their own, should be elected as Torun authorities.

Zbigniew Iwanow, 32 years old, moustached, was elected to the strike committee; you can see him in the picture, kneeling in the first row in front of the makeshift altar, just by the gate. When at the beginning of September, without waiting for directives from the top, they announced elections in the party organization, he became the first secretary of the plant committee.

"I inform you, comrades, that I am religious and go to church," he said. They accepted him.

The former secretary and three departmental secretaries lost in the elections.

A whole plant committee joined the new unions, every second person in the unions' presidium is a member of the party.

Iwanow believes that TOWIMOR should lead in the renewal of party life in the voivodship. He says about his predecessor: "He was a good man, but soft. He lost the direction and did not make the road bend."

#### Speaking up

A new stage has arrived in the party echelons, the stage of speaking up.

"We now have to make up for those former silent meetings when we would discuss only on the bus, on the way home because there was no point to discussing anything at the meeting, nobody wanted to listen," they say in ELANA.

"Only those who agreed, supported, would speak up. If he thought otherwise, he would keep silent. But it should have been the other way around.

"No end of bitterness and grief, this meeting of ours today," says Secretary Kaczorowski.

Forbidden and taboo subjects disappeared, the iron scenarios of meeting rituals and attitudes ceased to be binding. There is nothing sacred and untouchable.

#### Therapy of speaking up.

I take part in the first meeting of the new first secretary of the voivodship committee with the ELANA plant organization. On the door of the conference hall a poster: SOLIDARITY TODAY -- SUCCESS TOMORROW. The tables are covered with green cloth, put in a square, microphones. An introduction: "I encourage you to discuss, comrades." And nothing, silence.

"We had our say," the chief editor of the plant paper prompts me. (In the last issue: Silence at high noon -- about a 1-hour strike on Friday; What will happen in the winter? -- the latest bulletin: a train with coal is already at the station; What do you expect from the new unions? -- Zdzislaw Chodkiewicz, machinery supervisor at POLIMERYZACJA: "What did they teach me? A compromise. I used to think like the work force, I looked at the factory problems one-sidedly, by now I know the position of management, I know how to reconcile myself with its arguments -- if they are just; fourth part of replies to the work force's postulates -- from 58 to 97).

## Discussion

"We looked at the top and not at the bottom, at giving account to the electors;"

"We defend people who are not sober and do not work, how long?"

"We lost contact with young people;"

"We hide our head in the sand and keep waiting for what the Independent Self-Governing Trade Unions [NSZZ] are going to do;

"We have to establish a manual for each party member: the scope of rights and obligations;"

"at instruction courses, we should teach first of all the Lenin norms of party life, using practical examples;"

"the longer you work in the factory, the lower your salary;"

"the rotation of cadres -- yes, but the rotation of management will not be good;"

"the criticism of a party member is not the criticism of the party;"

"We have had enough of beating one's breast, we want to hear what is going to be better;"

"so that a comrade means a comrade, so that one could talk about errors and shortcomings without embarrassment;"

"I told you: if you, brother, want to be a manager, join the party, didn't I?"

"a director becomes an ex-officio member of the voivodship committee and what can a rank-and-file plant secretary do? The voivodship committee is above him;"

"easy, comrades, what should I be ashamed of? I am proud of my years in the party;"

"ELANA is diagonally 3.5 kilometers long -- let's not forget about achievements;"

"Comrade Gierak was not very good with people;"

"the only hope -- the congresses; let's not be afraid of confrontations, let's give party members a possibility of choice;"

"for what are Party dues for? We decided not to pay in the department until we find out;"

"it was a phenomenon known in the theory of management: a monopoly of prerogatives by the party;"

A meeting without applause.

"It was said at the sixth plenum that it is the end of bringing authorities with attache cases and 2 days later a helicopter with a new first secretary arrived in Torun.

"Thank you for taking up this subject," interrupts the first secretary, Zygmunt Najdowski. He explains, "Each secretary of the voivodship serves at somebody's discretion. Two years ago I went to the capital without great joy. I won't delude you, I didn't like working in Warsaw. I don't know of anybody demanding my departure from the Ministry of Culture. I was offered a possibility of party work, my predecessor resigned. I said that if the voivodship committee approved me, I would go back."

"People say here that Najdowski is responsible for the Radio Committee and as punishment he was sentenced to Torun."

"The Radio Committee does not answer to the Ministry of Culture."

#### Anger

"I have moments of terrible optimism," said Aleksandra Wrzecionowska, secretary from MERINOTEX, "and moments of total doubt; that the changes go slow, that in the Party, there is too much idle talk."

"At meetings of party employees, the same old yawning and watching the clock to see the end as soon as possible," says Iwanow from TOWIMOR.

"Comrades come with all kind of information to me and ask: 'secretary, is that true?' I say: 'it cannot be true.' Later they bring it printed in the paper. I, the party, did not know about it earlier," says Kaczorwski from APATOR.

Secretaries agree: there is no information.

"We always find out last," they say in MERINOTEX. "The new unions put up their notices and we run surrepticiously to read."

"Yesterday, we had a lecturer from the Central Committee. It's good that he had a meeting with the aktiv because people on the floor would kick him out in 5 minutes for such talk. They want concrete points."

"NOWE DROGI (NEW ROADS) are very Old Roads," they say in ELANA. "About the fifth plenum -- 10 lines. What can we explain at the meetings?"

People are impatient.

Correspondence to the Voivodship Party Central Committee has visibly picked up.

"There is a thesis among the aktiv that there was a sea of villainy and every second one was a thief," says director of the Voivodship Party Control Committee, Zygmunt Machowski. And he adds: "This is a Pole, comrade. First, there was apathy, then shame, then shame turned to anger. Against one-self that he kept silent so long, against a friend he trusted. A mechanism of revenge, psychology knows these states.

"We are an organ based on social feeling. Up to now, it was difficult to penetrate the masses, one had to rely on the Supreme Chamber of Control, public prosecutor's office, income control, comrades covered up for each other, dodged. Now, they say, every second one is a thief. From one extreme to the other.



"Little houses were being built for the purposes that now cause protest and disapproval. You know, there was a dilemma: if it came out that there was no crime, should the involved have to explain himself? Many comrades were of the opinion that he should not. I think that if he is a political activist, each case is a public case.

"We do not want to upset public opinion. We have to explain each case to the end. We are very careful."

### Doing things

Speaking up fulfilled its therapeutic role, but at last it became boring -- beating one's breast and one's neighbor's. The time came for the fourth stage, the stage of doing things. And immediately discrepancies showed up in opinions on the subject --how and what, they divided into groups, various goals, various interests.

The first to recover was the group in its 30's. They opt, anyway, for the most radical changes and show least patience. They want to begin everything as if from the very beginning, to open a new account. They stand for a thorough reform in the party, from top to bottom, and first of all for big personal changes and changes of party employees.

A group some 10 years older, with long party seniority and formed habits, is less inclined to cross out what it has been doing up to now or does not feel like change because the old style of governing was convenient for them. Not a small group, quietly, clearly preferring to remain anonymous, considers some recent decisions of the party central group as capitulation and consequently weakening the party position. There are also those who consider them temporary, dictated by the need of the moment.

Yes, they are for changes, and in principle for improving and making real an existing structure. They opt for moving back the people most discredited but also for cooling off the fervor for personal changes, worrying about continuity of party echelons.

Finally, some only with difficulty comprehend the current changes, are apt to make them light, to minimize them.

The most bitter seems to be a group in its 50's. They are most aware of the cyclicity of party crises, they know them from experience; the bitterness is born, not for the first time, of misplaced hopes and trust. It is difficult to begin a new life again, to readjust from day to day, to put on a new, compulsory, face; they fight with the remnants of loyalty to themselves, their own views.

They develop, even if only subconsciously, a certain coolness toward the radical 30-year olds, a fear of accelerated political retirement accompanies them.

In the most difficult position are those who work professionally in the party and at the lowest levels; they do not have anybody or anything to rely on. Around them is a void.

The above-presented classification is strongly and sometimes unfairly simplified. People vary also because of the position they have been occupying in the party hierarchy, the higher it was, the closer they are to the views of an older group.

To sum up, the situation looks like this: individual wheels of this machine turn at various speeds, it is difficult to mesh them, so that they may work smoothly together.

Ryszard Dorozynski, secretary of the Voivodship Committee, presents an emergency program at the voivodship level:

"Come down to the masses, to the meetings of rank-and-file echelons,

"look for credible authorities and views,

"discussions of institutional guarantees of changes in internal party life,

"verification of party activity forms."

Will it satisfy the masses?

"The state of minds is so hectic that rational arguments do not convince," says secretary Dorozynski. The Voivodship Committee is in a peculiar situation -- pressured from the top and bottom.

Hot heads have confidence neither in people in the voivodship and city leadership nor in the party structures. As a matter of fact, the declarations of helmsmen are good for nothing and their new way of talking has little effect. The faces lost trust.

"They implemented erroneous policy, they were the personification of this policy, says Professor Lang of the Mikolaj Kopernik University. "Even if they are not discredited personally, and after all many are not, they are discredited on the personal level."

The confusion of rank and file lies in the fact that, on the one hand, they do not believe the helmsmen and, on the other, they are waiting for them to give a signal to begin, to translate the sixth plenum into the language of concrete deeds.

They consider the way of amnaging the party with directives discredited and at the same time, bound by an old custom, they are waiting for guidelines from the top.

They demand from the party structures more aggressive activities, from the voivodship plenum that it play a more active role in the election of the secretary of the Voivodship Committee, from the Voivodship Party Control Committee that it clear everybody from rank and file to secretaries, and at the same time they consider the Voivodship Committee Plenum absolutely unrepresentative, and the Voivodship Party Control Committee as part of the party establishment and so unable to fulfill the expected task.

They want elections and at the same time they doubt the party electoral law.

They are waiting, more and more impatiently, for guidelines and directives. They do not come -- so even more they are confirmed in their belief that the top is slowing down changes because this is in its interest.

The party machinery, on the other hand, mistrustfully watches the masses because the old discipline considered as blind loyalty collapsed and there is no way to control what may come into somebody's head and what he may blabber.

How to come to an agreement in this situation?

Professor Lang's solution is as follows: a development of horizontal forms; the role of the Voivodship Committee: inspiration and coordination.

"We have to arrive at the alliance of honest people," he says.

At the initiative of the party organization in the Institute of Social Sciences at Mikolaj Kopernik University, in cooperation with eight large factories in Torun, e.g., ELANA, APATOR, TOWIMOR, PRZEMYSLOWKA, a Consultative Commission of party organizations has been formed, an open body, with a planned regional reach, created to prepare a program from the bottom for the ninth congress, a program that would bind all voivodship delegates.

The commission, as the organizers write, is a result of passivity and lack of proposals from the city and voivodship committees. It finds its proponents outside its yard and has come to terms with the Department Party Organization of ZAMECH in Bydgoszcz and with the cellulose manufacturing plant in Swiecie.

A preliminary condition of applying for admission in the commission is to have elections in one's plant. It happens often that as a result the predecessors remain in power. It is important that they have a current mandate of the electorate.

Subject number one of the forum: The role of the party.

Subject number two: democratization.

Secretary Iwanow from TOWIMOR sees the goal, among others, as follows: "So that one could say about each secretary, of the city, voivodship or central committee -- my secretary."

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WSNS' DR LAMENTOWICZ ON 1981 CONTROVERSIES

How to Govern Populace After August

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 13-14-15 Mar 81 p 3

[Interview with Dr Wojciech Lamentowicz of the WSNS [Higher School of Social Sciences] PZPR Central Committee by Zbigniew Jurkiewicz; date and place not given]

[Text] Controversies of 1981

[Dr Lamentowicz] What may the Poles expect of their government? I believe that Poland should be governed, first of all, so as to come up to these expectations. Next, it seems to me that at the present time the expectations of society are not too unreasonable, particularly in the material sense. Most of Polish society is aware of the fact that the present situation is an exceptionally difficult one. And that this time, unlike during the situation of 1956 and 1970, our emergence from the political crisis cannot take place in an atmosphere of the distinct improvement in consumer prosperity. I believe in general that we are fortunate amid our misfortune that most people have somehow prepared themselves for the fact that they must give up something for something.

[Question] In your opinion, what is the "something" in the name of which we are prepared to deny ourselves?

[Answer] The welfare of our political and moral nature. Let us follow the thread of our catastrophic living situation. As I see it, the majority of society is waiting for the government to see to it that our enormous problems is justly distributed among all social groups. And in particular, that the weakest groups, both in terms of the structure of their influence and in terms of the structure of their possessions, will not be discriminated against in the policy for overcoming the crisis which was outlined in the premier's government statement. And the government must meet this expectation. But this is only one example. Of much greater importance, perhaps first in the hierarchy in my opinion, is the expectation of society for clear prospects for the future. These prospects, in turn, are linked with reforms, not only economic reform, but also sociopolitical reform. As I understand the situation, society expects these reforms to take place together, to be coordinated and to be presented to the nation with such clarity as to allow each citizen to imagine the shape that Poland will take, let us say, in 5 or 8 years. How can this be done? Only on the basis of a public, universal discussion, in which each person feels he has taken part. The government must meet this expectation as well.



Now, of course, we should explain what is to be changed in order for the government to satisfy such expectations. In my opinion, in the first place the government--in the broad sense of the word--should be restructured much more thoroughly, both in the sense of its personnel makeup and the structure of the executive apparatus, and in its style of operation. Today the situation is such that the government has a new head and he has several new coworkers, but to a large degree--and below the level of the ministerial cabinet, almost completely--it is composed of persons who have been functioning within the governmental apparatus since before the outbreak of workers' anger. Thus, this matter is of decided importance if the government is to have the authority enabling its persuasive and decisive operation. In my opinion, the leadership of the government should present a package of structural and personnel changes to the Sejm as soon as possible. These proposals should be clear enough to society to enable it to be persuaded why certain persons with certain views (and not others with other views) are suggested for the new cabinet.

[Question] Excuse me, but I am not persuaded by society's need to be persuaded. Namely, I believe that the essence of our social contract is not based on the government's ability to find a means of persuasion.

[Answer] I hold a different view: namely, that negotiations are simply one of the elements of persuasion, broadly understood. In a narrower sense, they are a way of coming to a consensus in those matters in which an agreement may be achieved, for example, between the trade unions and the government. On the other hand, I do not believe full concordance of views in all questions would be a reasonable aim, since it could once again cause an increase in social tensions, such as we have undergone more than once in this country. I have already expressed this view in another place and I continue to uphold the conviction that the government should operate in its decisionmaking by always inviting civic judgment to take part.

At the same time, I think that the proper functioning of the machinery of persuasion requires still more--an inclination toward compromise, at least in three fields of life. In the first place, I would posit political compromise, referring to the current power structure. This should manifest itself within the party between those forces which desire to bring about its radical democratization and those conservatives who do not wish to accept such far-reaching demands for intraparty reform. Next, compromise is necessary between the party as a whole and the trade unions, with regard to those questions, of course, that are of interest to the trade unions. Finally, compromise is necessary in state and church relations. More areas of compromise could be pointed out, but I think that these are the three major ones.

[Question] Compromises are always made when certain goals are to be attained. What are the goals in this case?

[Answer] The most basic goals have already been laid out in Premier Jaruzelski's 10-point program. But I would like to expand this list to include a group of goals which, although they are very basic, could not carry the guarantee of the government that they would be met within 3 months. Nonetheless I am of the opinion that the government should act with a view to such ambitious ends. Thus, I will speak briefly about them.

In my perception, the three most pressing needs of the working people which are the most well-developed and the most aroused are the following.

First, the need for self-esteem, both personally, expressed in giving respect to each person as a human being, a citizen, a worker and finally a consumer, and collectively, i.e., respecting entire social groups, let us say--the dignity of blue-collar workers, of intellectuals and of peasants. The dignity of rural working people, for years ignored, is particularly in urgent need of its right to be acknowledged. This group is passionate in its eagerness to introduce self-governing peasant organizations which would be fully in the control of the peasants themselves and not some other social groups. The granting of this demand necessitates a reflective style of government, a new language of authority--in summary, a new, more open, public, considerably more trusting relationship to society. This is very important, since over the decades our authorities have learned to act to the contrary, their actions based on the assumption of mutual distrust, and because of their lack of regard for society, they met with society's lack of trust in them. I believe that we should finally create conditions enabling the ruling group (broadly understood) to relate to society with greater trust and respect. Only then will it be able to count on the confidence of society in it. This does not mean that society will not be critical of it; in my opinion there is no longer any room for buying public confidence on credit in Poland.

The second basic value is the need for justice. Not only, as we have already stated, in the sense of the distribution of goods (of which there are less and less) and not only better opportunities for the future, but also justice with regard, let us say, to the exercise of responsibility. One's sense of justice is affronted today both by the fact that for many years the distribution of goods took place under circumstances of the violation of socialist principles which had been accepted by the people, e.g., the principle of the distribution according to one's labor, as well as by the fact that members of the elite ruling group, and in particular those at the highest level, have acted irresponsibly and have gone unpunished. Consequently, there is now the demand for the meting out of justice, for the laying on of blame, and for punishment where necessary. It is apparent to me that this need has become deeply embedded in the psyche of society. Meanwhile the people's sense of justice continues to be outraged. I am correct in believing that they are still not being taken seriously, since there are many people who, while they are responsible for the extremely serious and complex crisis Poland is now suffering, are still too prosperous and still have too many reasons for their feeling of self-esteem. This need should be satisfied to a considerably greater degree within the course of the next 90 days; to maintain the status quo is to frustrate society.

The third course of action which must be taken is the urgent satisfaction of the need for self-government, the need for democracy in action. In my opinion, it is now a matter of course that Poland cannot be governed today except in a manner which has won the support of the people. And so I believe that if the people who make decisions on behalf of other people (since this is what the people in power do) do not take into consideration the fact that they must constantly strive for the support of society and the fact that, moreover, they must do this, as it were, humbly, openly, fairly and honestly, rejecting the temptation to try what amounts to only a new, more effective form of manipulation--and if they do not relate to society in this truly new way, then it will most likely be impossible to pull Poland out of its crisis situation.

[Question] Summarizing, then: self-esteem, justice, and democracy?

[Answer] I believe that there are the three values which have been most often violated in the former actions of the centers of power. If these three values do not penetrate all concrete actions of the power structure, then even if our state becomes economically efficient, it will not succeed in solving its most important problem, the one it must solve: that is, the unleashing of all of society's energy. And it is still blocked up today. It is as if people do not believe that there is sufficient reason for them to engage in creative work, in some sort of organized effort and, let us add, some sort of honest understanding, and to do all of this with a real earnestness and sense of sacrifice, using all of their talents.

And the government should demonstrate that it has a positive approach to these matters, that it is aware that this is very important and that it knows how to go about this.

[Question] Exactly, and here I would like to ask one final question. If this is so, within our system, within the framework of our social contract, with whom does the initiative in these matters lie?

[Answer] It seems to me that the initiative is to be taken by all those who realize the significance of the unleashing of society's energy for the development of Poland. But a certain social distribution of roles is also needed. In this respect, a special obligation falls to the centers of power, since they are primarily saddled with the responsibility for a subsequent crisis. However, since there prevails a divergence between the right of society and the right of the functioning of the state, a divergence which we wish to eliminate in a refined way, in a way that is to the advantage of the totality of national affairs, i.e., by means of a method of optimal compromises, "someone" is needed to preside over this system, to play both the role of social leader and that of an arbiter having ideological, political and moral authority. This arbiter must be the workers party, both as the representative of the working people in an authentic manner and as that entity which points to the goals and organizes the activity of the socialist state. Thus I have in mind the Marxist-Leninist party both in its leadership capacity and in its service capacity, acting as a footbridge between the two sides of the social system.

[Interviewer] Thank you for your view.

#### Problems, Responsibility, Effective Party Leadership

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 27-28-29 Mar 81 p 3

[Interview with Dr Wojciech Lamentowicz of the WSNS [Higher School of Social Sciences], by Zbigniew Jurkiewicz]

[Text] Controversies of 1981

[Question] The party's capability to lead the development of socialism in Poland in an effective way cannot be regained without the reconstruction of its program, centers of government and style of operation. This reconstruction will not receive the support, emphatically and freely expressed, and clearly articulated, of most of society. Is this not the leading thesis of your pronouncements in discussion before the Ninth PZPR Congress?



[Answer] Agreed. This is my view of the issue of the place and the role of the Marxist party in Polish society. This view is based on the assumption that in the future we will have to overcome many conflicts. I should add, natural conflicts, between various groups in society and the state administration. And also that this will continue as long as this administration continues to be a structure which is alienated from society. The belief that the alienation of the authorities will vanish in socialism in and of itself is simply a deception. As long as the state is the state, i.e., a hierarchical organization of coercion, which merely establishes the existence of the bureaucracy serving its apparatus, then, as it seems to me, this structure must engender a divergence on all sorts of detailed questions between the administration's right and the rights of the heterogeneous, pluralistic society, which are becoming more and more pronounced. Such was the case until now as well.

Only this was not disclosed. Only it was artificially hidden. With its well-known catastrophic consequences. So that they not occur again, the state must be led by a force capable of organizing a rational compromise between the right that issues from the logic and structure of its functioning and the right of society to self-government, or even its right to gather for the purpose of seeing that the conflicts between the two sides resolved to the advantage of the totality of national affairs.

I am speaking, then, of such arbitration as would command ideological, political and moral authority and would be capable of restoring and maintaining that level of harmony indispensable for the preservation of the continuity of socialist development.

Hence the idea that such a force can be created only out of a workers party that is really a party of the workers and that really takes seriously its ideological obligations as representative of the world of labor, as well as its responsibility for the state perceived as a totality, and not as the state apparatus. In order to exercise its responsibility so perceived--both for the state in its totality and for the current interests of working people--the party must become an ideologically specific social movement, engendered from below and controlled from below. Only then will it be able to be a force which is really legally valid in its leadership role, because it will be supported by the majority.

[Question] And if the opposite occurs?

[Answer] If the opposite occurs and the party becomes another bureaucracy added to the bureaucracy of the state, it stands to reason that after a time society will naturally identify it with the state apparatus, and particularly the party apparatus. In such a case, society holds the party responsible for all mistaken actions of the state officials, and, I believe, rightly so. For this reason, in my opinion it is no longer possible to think in the traditional way of the leadership role of the party, understanding by this that the party is to be a sort of overseer standing over the organs of authority and the state administration. The party must approach the citizenry so close as to gain support for its program.

[Question] However, as is known, even the best policy is not worth much if it does not possess the material means. Thus I would like to know about the relationship of the party to the economy.

[Answer] The party will probably have little success in implementing the demand for a restoration of self-esteem to the people, for the establishment of social justice



and, finally, in channeling the energies of the widespread movement for self-government, activism and social enterprise, if it is not able to restore even the most fundamentally just economic proportions in people's lives right at the threshold of its economic policy. The present situation in this regard is desperate. In some places about 40 percent (and some say, more) of the people live at the socially minimal level. At the lowest estimate, 70 percent of our children are being brought up in families which have subminimum supplies of food. Many such statistics may be cited. The list includes the army of millions of people who live in the throes of alcoholism, the several million people who are not fully competent in a profession, the 1.5 million menaced with full work incapability and 4.5 million pensioners, of which at least half do not live at even a socially minimal level.

If these phenomena of unfair treatment are piled one atop the other--and in many social groups this is just what is happening--we must conclude that we are talking about one of the most important, most burning needs of the party's economic policy. Everyone hopes that if we are to extricate ourselves from this economic crisis by the force of the enterprising spirit of all of the working world, it will not be at the expense of those who are the poorest. Such a policy would be unacceptable for the Marxist party. Moreover, agreeing to such injustice would lead to a waste of energies on a considerably broader scale than is represented by the group of people with the lowest incomes.

[Question] Is there any chance for a "good economic policy?"

[Answer] I am not an economist but I believe that the key to the success of the proposed economic reform lies in the parallel implementation of changes in the structure of political authority. These changes would enable the proper definition of the operational principles of the economy. The key also lies in the speedy undertaking of economic reform. I simply do not believe that we should wait "for better times," and then reform certain elements of planning or methods of management.

Secondly, under conditions of an economy such as we have, in which the sector of state property is dominant, the process of the operation both of production and of the distribution of finished products is highly politicized. And if the present situation continues in which it is as if three governments are in operation within the state, i.e., the Political Bureau, the Council of Ministers and the central administrative apparatus in the broad sense, and, as a consequence, each decision will have to be worked out and implemented at least by these three groups, then this will certainly have fatal consequences for the efficient operation of the whole. For this reason, I am of the opinion that an unequivocal, but legal definition of the place of the party in the process of economic management is indispensable from the outset of the reform plan.

I also believe that the concept outlined on this topic by the government commission is insufficient and unclear; it does not even point out how and why the party's tasks must be altered with relation to the economy, and says nothing about such important agents of economic management as the Central Committee, the Political Bureau and the local party echelons. If the concept as announced has nothing to say on this subject, then it either does not perceive what every citizen can see with the naked eye, or it does not intend to inform society of its plans in this regard.

[Question] Then how should the party function with regard to the economic processes in general and the reform of the economy in particular?

[Answer] What is indispensable, above all, is the unequivocal assertion that the party apparatus should not directly participate in production management. If this continues, either in the form of various types of manipulation such as nomenclature, through silent cabinet directives, or through other forms of influence out of society's control, then most likely there will be no such thing as the autonomy of enterprises, as rational planning and, moreover, as the social spirit of enterprise of the people. A clear line of demarcation of interest must be made between the sphere of authority and the degree of responsibility assumed by those groups who have real control of management.

[Question] Are you not of the belief that upon the initiation of the reform, some sort of redistribution of that portion of the national income which is currently designated for consumption should be made in order to enable a spectacular act of social justice to be taken on this basis?

[Answer] This must be done without delay, likewise in order to equalize the starting conditions of economic reform which, by virtue of its general assumptions, can cause an increase in the disparity of incomes (this already exceeds the bounds of society's patience) and a turn against the very idea of redistribution. I also see redistribution as a requirement for the return of that which has been confiscated--both by illegal and quasi-legal means--in terms of public goods, and which still are, as they always were, private property. This phenomenon runs unusually deep because it offends one's sense of social justice.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

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## COMMENTARIES ON UNIVERSAL OBLIGATION TO DEFEND HOMELAND

## Amendment to 1967 Sejm Resolution

Warsaw WOJSKO LUDOWE in Polish No 1, Jan 80 pp 57-59

[Article by Col Franciszek Trawinski]

[Text] On 28 June 1979, the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic passed an amendment to a 1967 resolution: "Concerning the Universal Obligation To Defend the Polish People's Republic." Due to the rich contents of this document, we must comment on several of its proposals for regulating the problems of universal military service.

The introduction of changes in the resolution has its source in very basic premises, of which the most important are:

- the need for continued improvement of the internal defense structure of the country as well as of the system of allied operations;
- the necessity for the legal generalization of the proposals and experiences which have accumulated during the course of the application of the 1967 resolution;
- the ensuing demographic conditions, which are characterized by a progressive fall in the number of subsequent annual conscript lists.

Without entering into a detailed evaluation of these premises, we may readily observe that each of them is linked in a specific way to the problems of the universal service of citizens in the defense of the country, which includes the duty of the fulfillment of the military service obligation by male youth of conscript age.

The particular function of the Ministry of National Defense [MON] in the system of defending the nation is at once the privilege and the duty of organizing and carrying out the whole process of selection and callup of the youth obliged to fulfill their military service duty.

Many factors determine the policy of using human resources in the field of defense. These include, most importantly, the value of the given male population, i.e., their number, level of general preparedness and the state of their health for meeting the needs of the armed forces. Very favorable conditions for army recruitment

existed until the 1970's. Plentiful annual conscript lists completely covered the needs of the armed forces. There was even a certain glut of these human resources. As a result of this situation, many of those who had been conscripted easily deferred their military service on various grounds, sometimes unjustifiably so. Add to this the fact that it was impossible to make full use of the oversupply in an organized manner even within the national economy, and it becomes easy to understand why the basic principle of the equality of citizens with regard to the duty of service in defense of the country had been relegated to the sphere of theory to a considerable degree.

The situation changed toward the end of the 1970's. The phenomenon of a decline in population considerably reduced the size of the annual conscript lists, creating the need for the development of such principles of utilizing human resources as would afford the possibility of maintaining the quantitative and qualitative demands of army recruitment at former levels. These principles were laid out in the new resolution.

They establish the directions of taking action ensuring that the needs of the armed forces will be met. At the same time they enable the implementation of the demand for the universal fulfillment of the obligation of citizens to defend the nation. Practically speaking, this means part of the male youth population (that part which is the most valuable in terms of health, education and professional armed forces training) is taken by the various services. On the other hand, the rest are required to fulfill basic service in Civil defense (OC) divisions or an alternate conscript service. In this way, then, according to the tenets of the resolution, all graduates of higher schools are bound by military service and the various forms of deferring military service have been markedly limited. This primarily affects deferments, which thus far have been relatively easy to attain, such as sole support of the family\* or the practice of a profession.

The problem of health requirements within the context of the possibility of fulfilling service in an alternate form is likewise treated differently. Formerly, if a conscript fell into the "D" health category, he was, for all intents and purposes, eliminated from the possibility of military service. According to the new regulations, this group of conscripts is considered to be fit for military service and is designated to serve in civil defense division or in an alternate conscript service. It appears that the above solutions create a formidable possibility for the implementation of the goals of the amended resolution (this is fully borne out in practice).

However, in order for these proposals to fulfill expectations, the recruitment of armed forces must be conducted effectively in practice. The selection process, reliably conducted by conscript committees, should yield concrete data concerning the numbers and quality of a given annual conscript list. Military recruitment stations, making use of the results of the work of the conscript committees and

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\* While this has been preserved in the resolution, it does not signify the right of nonfulfillment of military service. According to the new instructions, the sole support may be called up for military service if the family supported by him receives a suitable monetary allowance.



taking into account the cardinal principle of the priority of operational-level troops, must approach their work in the name of the specific form of service in a rational manner, while at the same time discharging their duty according to the law.

A detailed analysis of the numerical situation of particular annual lists of male youth, together with the use of the possibilities contained in the regulations of the new resolution, indicates that not only can the needs of the armed forces be met in full, but that there will even be a certain glut in the group of those conscripted having inferior health and professional predispositions. These may then be used in some specific alternate form of service.

Considerations which have arisen up to the present time have demonstrated that the amended resolution has yielded the following results:

--first, it has become fully possible to meet the quantitative and qualitative needs of armed forces recruitment primarily by binding the graduates of higher schools to serve and by reducing the number of deferments;

--second, it has created the opportunity for serving the national economy as at former levels by service in OC divisions and alternate conscript services;

--third, it affords real prospects for putting into practice the universal obligation of military service with reference to conscripted groups who, practically speaking, fall outside this obligation.

How, then, will the principles outlined above concerning the military service of the graduates of higher school and that of conscripted groups designated for service in OC and alternate services be implemented?

A portion of the graduates of higher schools (approximately 25-30 percent) will continue to be trained as reserve officers (6 months of training in training centers, 6 months of practice in units). Those remaining who fulfill the conditions for serving in the military will be directed to training centers for officers and technicians, known as Reserve Officer Cadet Schools, for a 3-month training period. After completing this training they will be sent for 10 months to units to serve in the capacity of warrant officers, regular army noncommissioned officers and basic service noncommissioned officers both in officers specialties and as technicians. The most worthy of this group, having completed military service at the noncommissioned officer level, would have the opportunity to advance to officer's grade after completing training in the reserves. The fact that their service will last 1 year, including 9 months in units, entails the need to work out a recruitment policy shaped for those units to which they are sent. The detailed guidelines will be discussed as topics of their training and as issues of their daily life as well as other issues.

The 2-year basic service duty in civil defense will be fulfilled in specially organized OC divisions. Youth of conscript age will be sent to these units to fulfill their military service obligation. OC divisions will be created in connection with OHP [Voluntary Labor Brigades]. These divisions will be similar in organizational structure and in numbers to the 2-year stationary brigades of this

organization. Civil defense training and education will make broad use of ONP experiences in the areas of training activities, education and production activity, including experiences helping to form their self-defense units. Specifically, these will be units for preparing citizens to execute civil defense tasks in such fields as technical life-saving, accident rescue operations and sheltering the population, including providing shelter against natural disasters. Thus, the primary function of service in these units, which is training in the area of civil defense, will be linked with the execution of socially useful tasks.

A second form of alternate fulfillment of the military service obligation will be a 24-month-long alternate conscript service. It is assumed that it will be carried out on a completely voluntary basis primarily in institutions of social health services, social care, environmental protection and other institutions of public usefulness determined by the Council of Ministers. For the most part, such service will consist of the execution of suitable work in the above-mentioned institutions.

Alternate conscript service may also be fulfilled in units which come under the MON. If the conscripts fulfilling this type of service violate work discipline, they may be transferred to basic military service (of course, this is provided that they are physically and mentally capable of this) or to basic service in OC units for the remaining period of up to 24 months.

Both forms of the fulfillment of one's military obligation discussed above are in complete accordance with international conventions concerning the prohibition of coercive labor, ratified by Poland.

The appropriate central institutions of the MON are currently at work preparing executory regulations to the amended resolution. These will consist of detailed organizational and jurisdictional regulations, and will thus provide a complete interpretation of the activities of specific commands and staffs bound by the practical implementation of the proposals of the resolution.

It should be pointed out that the signaled changes have no precedent either in the principles of the fulfillment of military obligations up to the present time or in the armed forces recruitment policy. This means that those people responsible for the practical application of these principles will have to study them in detail and understand them fully. This is a self-evident condition for ensuring that the goals laid out in the resolution are achieved.

#### General, Specific Obligations

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 39, 28 Sep 80 p 18

[Text] --Defense of the homeland is the most sacred duty of every citizen (from the constitution of the Polish People's Republic).

--Defense of the homeland and of the socialist achievements of the Polish nation is the affair and the duty of all citizens of the Polish People's Republic (from the resolution concerning the universal obligation to defend the Polish People's Republic).

From the above statements, proceeds the fact that the duty to defend the country weighs on all of us, it is the obligation of all. WHY? After all, we have armed forces; why then is each of us obliged to defend our homeland? Not everyone is a farmer, or a miner or a metallurgist; why must we all be soldiers?

Perhaps it will be easier to answer this question if we compare our common home--our homeland--to the ordinary home. If the home is not threatened, its inhabitants go about their business normally: some work, others study, still others rest; there are workers, clerks, students and the like. Such is the case in a normal situation, but let us say the home is threatened by fire. Although there are firemen, none of the inhabitants will stand idly by and wait until the firemen come in to fight the fire. Each inhabitant of the home will save himself and the others; each one will help the firemen to save the home.

More analogies may be made. During a flood threat, the engineers are assisted by anyone who is capable of battling the natural disaster. If a ship is endangered, its crew interrupts its usual work and hurries to alarm stations.

This is a principle which is obligatory in all situations of danger; thus, it is all the more binding in the event that our common home, our homeland, is threatened. Such has been the case since time immemorial. Even in times when only the well-born were accorded the honor of being soldiers, the defense of the country was not solely in the hands of the knights. Kings and princes bound the people to resist the enemy if he attempted to invade Poland's borders. It was the duty of the peasants to stand guard at border crossings; they were also obliged to pursue the enemy's soldiers following a victorious battle. The townspeople were obliged to defend the towns, and particular craftsmen's guilds underwent defense training (e.g., game hunters).

The principle of the universal duty to defend the country was also expressed in early legal documents. For example, in 1432 the Sieradz parliament adopted a resolution according to which two-thirds of the men from the towns and villages were obliged to march out into battle.

After the fall of the republic in the 18th century, the most enlightened intellects, in seeking a way to save the nation, pointed out the need to make the defense of the country a universal obligation. Stanislaw Staszic considered that "every free citizen by the nature of his situation is also a knight, that is, a soldier of his country." Hugo Kollataj was of the opinion that the regular army was only a skeletal armed force and postulated the creation of a people's militia.

All are soldiers of their country--this idea was the guiding principle for the participants of the national uprisings. It was realized most fully in the years of World War II, when the whole nation went to war against Hitler and his occupation of Poland. It was a struggle not only with weapon in hand; it was also sabotage, passive resistance, clandestine training and the like.

The idea of universal defense is also necessary today, more than any other time in the past. This results from the character of contemporary warfare, in the course of which the division between the front and the hinterland disappears. All people, no matter where they are and what they are doing, are threatened; consequently,



all should learn to defend themselves. It is also a fact that the armed forces themselves, although they are very great in number, extremely well-equipped and well-trained, are not in a position to defend the country; the army is only the first line of universal defense.

The principle of universal defense is dictated not only by the good of the country; it is also founded upon the good of the individual citizen. Modern means of destruction endanger all. The following data speak for themselves: in World War I, civilians represented 5 percent of those killed; in World War II, 52 percent were civilians, while in the Korean and Vietnamese wars 85 percent were civilians!

Fine, you say, but is there any opportunity for defense in modern warfare? We will return to this topic as we treat other subjects within this cycle; for the time being let us note only this fact: during World War II it became apparent that in those towns which had no defense preparedness, 50 to 60 persons, and even as many as 100 persons were killed when 100 tons of bombs were dropped; in towns in which the inhabitants were prepared to defend themselves, the losses were limited to 10 persons. Thus, suitable defense preparedness considerably reduces the chances of survival. It is understood that it also increases the defense potential of the country.

#### Detailed Obligations

The defense system of our country is based upon the idea of the universal obligation to defend the homeland. It is founded upon the close connection of the activity of the armed forces with the defense efforts of society. Unconsciously we ask ourselves: How are we to understand this universal obligation, what specific duties does it impose on us?

There are several. We will deal more precisely with them during successive "lessons." Let us merely note here that these duties are differentiated with regard to the state of health, age, sex, education, profession and the like. There are different duties for peacetime and wartime. Following are the most important obligations:

The obligation of military service, which is based on:

- the fulfillment of basic military service by those conscripted;
- the fulfillment of military studies and military training by students and graduates of higher schools;
- the fulfillment of military exercises and recurrent military service by reserves soldiers;
- the fulfillment of active military service in the event of a call for mobilization and in the time of war by conscripts and reserves soldiers.

The obligation of military service also includes:

- the fulfillment of alternate conscript service;



--the fulfillment of basic service or the training of conscripts in civil defense.

The so-called administrative-personal obligation which includes appearing for registration or medical examinations is linked to the obligation of military service.

The obligation of the defense training of school-age youth and the defense training of female students.

All persons who are able from the viewpoint of their health state are subject to the obligation to train the populace in the area of universal self-defense. The purpose of such training is to prepare society to defend itself against the means of mass destruction and other actions of the enemy.

The obligation to serve in militarized fields issues from the fact that in a situation of danger to the safety of the state, certain elements of the administration and the economy may become militarized, and the persons therein employed may be put into uniform, quartered in barracks and armed.

The obligation to perform personal services for the needs of preparing the national defense consists of the gratis execution of various types of emergency services.

The material services obligation consists of making available one's dwellings, means of transportation, equipment and other machinery for the needs of the national defense.

Since the PO [Defense Preparedness] handbook covering these matters is partially out of date, we will return to some of these obligations in our cycle of "lessons" devoted to military service and civil defense. In conclusion, let us note that the civilian obligation to defend the homeland binds us to do nothing which would harm the development of Poland and its defense.

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CSO: 2600/182

BRIEFS

APPOINTMENT IN PRAHOVA COUNTY--Inasmuch as one of the positions of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Prahova County is vacant, on the basis of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples' councils, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Nicolae Badea, director general of the General Directorate for Agriculture and the Food Industry in Prahova County, is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the people's council in Prahova County.

[Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 26, 13 Apr 81 p 4]

CSO: 2700/220

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**DATE FILMED**

May 15, 1981

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